

Court okays bankruptcy as union-busting tool

BY THOMAS McCUTCHEON

The Supreme Court dealt a dangerous blow to the labor movement February 22, granting companies a free hand to use bankruptcy laws to tear up labor contracts and bust unions.

The two-part ruling allows a company to void a contract immediately upon filing

INSIDE: General Motors' secret plan to force even more concessions from auto workers — full text of internal company document on page 4.

under the bankruptcy code, without even waiting for a bankruptcy court to hear the case and rule on its merits.

The court further ruled that a company may void a union contract without producing much actual evidence of financial hardship. A bankruptcy court judge need only be convinced that a union contract is "burdensome," and that "the interests of the affected parties," — the company, its creditors, and workers — "balance in favor of rejecting the labor contract."

The Supreme Court decision came in a bankruptcy case filed by Bildisco, a building supplier in New Jersey. Bildisco negotiated a three-year contract with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters that was to expire April 30, 1982. In May 1980 the company refused to pay wage increases provided for in the contract.

In December 1980 Bildisco asked a bankruptcy court for permission to void the union contract, which the court granted the following month.

The union successfully petitioned the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to



Picket in Los Angeles after Continental Airlines used bankruptcy ploy to void labor contracts. Court decision sanctions such union-busting.

declare this an unfair labor practice. But an appeals court rejected the NLRB decision, and the Supreme Court upheld that rejection in its February 22 ruling.

This was a closely watched case. Other corporations much larger than Bildisco have since used bankruptcy filings to get out from union contracts. Others have threatened the use of bankruptcy as a means to pressure unions to grant conces-

sions.

Wilson Foods, a major meatpacker, openly acknowledged that it was using the bankruptcy courts last April as a legal maneuver to void a contract with the United Food and Commercial Workers. Despite a three-week strike, Wilson imposed wage cuts of more than \$4 an hour for new hires and almost \$3 an hour for the basic rate.

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U.S. rushes military aid to rightists in Lebanon

BY MARGARET JAYKO

U.S. soldiers have resumed military training of those Lebanese Army troops still loyal to the rightist regime of Pres. Amin Gemayel. The training had been "interrupted" early in February by the crumbling of the army and the desertion of thousands of Muslim troops when rebel militias took control of West Beirut.

The renewed military training affirms that, far from Reagan "washing his hands" of Lebanon, Washington remains determined to do everything it can to shore up the badly shaken Lebanese government.

According to Col. Alfred Baker, head of the training mission, his unit of 80 soldiers — mostly Green Berets — will train about 500 Lebanese officer cadets, an "elite" unit, and 300 new recruits. Baker complained that very few men are enlisting in the Lebanese Army. The number of Muslims joining the military in this predominantly Muslim country has been especially small. An increasing percentage of the soldiers remaining in the army are Christians.

In the discriminatory Lebanese political set-up, the privileged Christian minority has more political power than the Muslim majority. This imperialist-imposed inequity is a central factor in fueling the ongoing civil war in Lebanon.

No end to U.S. intervention

According to Reagan, the Lebanese soldiers will be tutored in "counterterrorism" training — a codeword for the kind of brutal suppression of the workers and peasants that the Lebanese Army is already infamous for, and which led to the recent armed rebellion against the Gemayel government.

The Pentagon is also continuing to send artillery, armored personnel carriers, and other military aid to Gemayel.

Despite big headlines about the U.S. Marine "withdrawal" from Lebanon — in reality, a redeployment of troops onto the U.S. fleet off Lebanon's coast — Washington has not ended its direct military intervention there.

To drive that point home, the U.S. destroyer *Caron* shelled Syrian positions in the mountains east of Beirut on February 25 as the first U.S. combat unit left the Beirut airport.

The next day, less than an hour after the last marine abandoned the bunker, the *Caron* and the battleship *New Jersey* opened fire again on the area east of Beirut after the Syrians fired at U.S. fighter planes that flew over Syrian-held positions in Lebanon.

Washington's fire power off Lebanon's shore includes 25 warships with more than 2,000 troops. Reagan has given the armada orders to fire into Lebanon against "any units firing into greater Beirut from part of Lebanon controlled by Syria" and against "any units directly attacking American or multinational force personnel or facilities."

Washington still has 200-300 soldiers in Lebanon plus a number of personnel attached to the embassy. France has 1,250 troops which are the last remnants of the inter-imperialist force.

Paris pushes UN force

Paris is pushing for the United Nations to put a "peacekeeping" force in Beirut to replace the multinational one. For one thing, this would allow the French troops to make a graceful exit from Lebanon, where 88 French soldiers have been killed so far.

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Grenada leader blasts U.S. invasion



Militant/Lou Howort
Kenrick Radix at New York meeting

BY MARGARET JAYKO

BROOKLYN — More than 500 people packed into the cafeteria of Medgar Evers College here on February 26 to hear Kenrick Radix, a former member of the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) and a founding leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), the party that led the March 13, 1979, Grenada revolution.

The meeting was a protest against the U.S. invasion and occupation of the island and a discussion of the lessons revolutionary fighters are drawing from the October 1983 overthrow of the PRG, which opened the door to the bloody U.S. intervention.

The gathering was also a tribute to the murdered prime minister of Grenada and central leader of the NJM, Maurice

Bishop. Bishop and five other leaders — Fitzroy Bain, Norris Bain, Jacqueline Creft, Vincent Noel, and Unison Whiteman — were slain on Oct. 19, 1983, on the orders of the clique led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. It was the Coard-led group that overthrew the PRG and created the conditions that made the long-planned U.S. invasion of that country qualitatively easier.

The majority of the audience was Black. It included many Grenadians — of all ages — and other people from the Caribbean, as well as Afro-Americans. A handful of right-wing opponents of the Grenada revolution were also present.

The large turnout for the meeting — which was built on very short notice — was an indication of the impact that this "big revolution in a small country" has had on Blacks in the United States.

Safiya Bendele, the director of the Medgar Evers Center for Women's Development, opened the meeting. Bendele had been to Grenada during the revolution. She said that despite the setback the revolution had suffered, supporters of the revolution in this country "look for the Maurice Bishops in the streets of Crown Heights and in the streets of Harlem."

Grenada: The Future Coming Towards Us, a film about the revolution, was then shown.

During the film — as during the entire meeting, which lasted about five hours — each mention of the Cuban people and government was met by a big burst of applause. The large amount of material aid that Cuba gave the Grenadian people, and the doctors, teachers, and construction workers that it sent, were referred to often,

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Socialist hits death penalty

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The U.S. Senate voted February 22 to approve a bill to allow the federal government to execute "terrorists, spies, and people who attack Presidents," according to the Associated Press.

"This bill is a dangerous escalation of the bipartisan drive against democratic rights," charged Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason. "It is aimed at intimidating opponents of the government's prowar, antilabor, and racist policies. It is another piece in the government's campaign to accustom the American people to the use of capital punishment."

"Under the phony cover of fighting 'crime and terrorism' the toll of victims of this legalized murder is climbing. Hardly a

month has gone by recently without the government putting a new victim to death."

The Reagan administration has renewed efforts to convince the American people that "crime" is the main problem in the nation today.

The propaganda drive about "terrorism" is a particularly dangerous part of this overall "anticrime" campaign, said Mason. The term "terrorist" is applied with greater and greater frequency to any and all opponents of the U.S. government who are fighting for freedom at home or abroad.

Thus Puerto Rican independence fighters, Black liberation activists, Lebanese freedom fighters, and virtually the entire population of Iran are "terrorists" in Washington's eyes, he noted.

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY JOHN DANIEL
AND KATHY RETTIG

DALLAS — Every other Saturday the General Motors assembly plant in Arlington, Texas, squeezes seven or eight more hours of mandatory overtime out of its employees.

The other five days of the week workers put in 9-10 hours a day on an assembly line that runs almost 60 Monte Carlos and Cutlasses an hour.

Saturday overtime is a day that *Militant* salespeople who work first shift during the week can get out to the GM plant and sell the latest issue of the *Militant* to workers coming to work on the second shift.

The GM Arlington plant is typical of most big factories in the Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex. A

high fence encircles the huge parking lot and security guards are posted at each entry to the plant.

Cars whiz off the freeway next to the plant and zip into GM's private parking lot. The closer to line time it gets, the more hurried are the drivers. Every second counts as they try to make it to their work stations before the whistle blows and the auto assembly line starts to move.

Cars coming off one of the freeway ramps, however, are stopped by a 60-second traffic light and 10 to 20 cars in three lanes line up waiting for the light to change.

Militant sellers stand along this part of the highway, wait for the light to turn red, and then start selling.

As the Texas weather starts to heat up, so do discussions among

auto workers about how to get rid of mandatory overtime and win back some of the pay and benefit cuts that help give GM its record profits. They are discovering that the *Militant* has some valuable contributions to make to that discussion.

Sixty seconds isn't a lot of time, but in 25 to 30 minutes of red lights, nine *Militants* have been sold each Saturday this month and quite a lot of campaign literature has been distributed for Mel Mason and Andrea González, the 1984 Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket. There is barely enough time to say, "Get your *Militant*, socialist paper!" or "Read about this week's article on the auto contract!"

Our salespeople have a few reg-

ular readers now. Once, when the light turned red, before the sales team could utter a word, three workers held dollar bills out of their car windows. Sometimes a worker in the second or third lane wants a paper, but the light changes and all we can say is, "Catch you next time."

The *Militant* is being distributed inside the plant as well. "Already have it," one worker told us. "Have you seen this?" he asked and held up a copy of "Attack on Workers Rights: The Fight Against Government/Company Victimization," a pamphlet by John Studer available from Pathfinder Press.

One new employee, as he dug out his money for a paper, asked us if we knew a woman he'd

bought the *Militant* from when he worked with her at another plant in the area.

A union official wasn't interested in the *Militant*. "I already know what GM is up to," he said, "We may have to strike this year."

An inspector, also the son of a general supervisor, bought the paper and while reading it inside the plant decided he didn't like the article in the February 10 issue on how mandatory overtime means less jobs for auto workers. "If it's in the *Militant* it must be true," a Black coworker told him, "so lay off."

This past Saturday, not long before the whistle blew, an older worker rushing to catch the green light, yelled out his window, "Keep up the good work!"

Louisville-area teachers union backs Marroquin

BY BOB QUIGLEY

LOUISVILLE — An important new endorsement of Héctor Marroquín's fight against deportation was won here when the Jefferson County Teachers Association (JCTA) voted to support his case. A Mexican-born socialist, Marroquín is fighting moves by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport him because of his political ideas.

The JCTA, a local affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), represents over 4,000 teachers in Louisville and Jefferson County. The NEA, which represents 1.7 million teachers nationally, voted at both its 1978 and 1983 conventions to back Marroquín's political asylum fight.

At a February 20 business meeting of the JCTA, Jon Henrikson, president of the Kentucky Education Association (KEA), introduced Marroquín to teachers and urged the JCTA to support him.

Marroquín explained that Washington has been trying to deport him for six years. Having fled Mexico because of political persecution, he is demanding that the INS grant him political asylum. The Supreme Court is expected to rule on his case soon.

He is also asking that his application for permanent residence based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen be granted.

After presenting his case, Marroquín answered several questions. A few teachers asked such things as "Aren't you a Marxist?" and "Aren't you in this country illegally?" — with the intention of undercutting support for his fight.

Marroquín, who is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a former teacher, explained why all unionists have a stake in defending him, whether they agree with his political beliefs or not. The majority of unionists at the meeting demonstrated that red-baiting would not deter them from supporting the democratic rights of a fellow teacher. They voted 70 percent in favor of backing his case.



Héctor Marroquín addressing 1983 convention of National Education Association (NEA). Jefferson County affiliate of NEA in Kentucky has endorsed his fight against deportation.

The JCTA meeting was part of a four-day tour by Marroquín through northern Kentucky from February 18-21. The tour was kicked off at a Louisville rally February 18. Marroquín spoke about his case and linked it with the plight of thousands of political refugees in this country from countries like El Salvador and Haiti.

Mattie Jones, chairperson of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, described how deportations of Haitian and Salvadoran refugees are connected to the U.S. government's stepped-up attacks on the rights of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

KEA President Henrikson sent greetings that called on all citizens of Kentucky to urge the U.S. government to provide political asylum for Marroquín.

George Buchanan, who recently traveled to Nicaragua, and Paul Soreff, of the National Lawyers Guild, also addressed the rally.

Marroquín spoke at the University of

Kentucky in Lexington at the invitation of the local youth chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. He received a warm response. The sponsors had the entire meeting covered by a local TV station.

Supporters of the case here arranged six interviews with Marroquín by the local media. He was able to reach thousands of people on a radio call-in show that was extended an extra 30 minutes because of the enthusiastic response from callers.

Marroquín was also able to meet with several supporters who are members of the International Chemical Workers Union (ICW). After listening to the latest details on the case, ICW supporters discussed how they could build support for his fight. One supporter donated money won in a raffle.

Marroquín attended a dinner held in his honor at a Lebanese restaurant. Speeches by supporters of the rebels in Lebanon and El Salvador called for solidarity between the Lebanese, Salvadoran, and U.S.

people, and for support for Marroquín's fight against deportation.

Marroquín addressed students at the University of Louisville at a meeting sponsored by the Progressive Student League, and he spoke to the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Thanking the Kentucky Alliance for their past support, Marroquín urged members to continue this support by sending protest telegrams to the INS. The Kentucky Alliance resolved to send a telegram in support of Marroquín.

Marroquín's tour here was a great success. Bob Hill, a local Marroquín supporter, said, "This tour shows what a small number of people can do. A big part of our success was involving every supporter in the area in the tour in some way."

"Before Héctor came to Louisville, only a few dozen people knew about his case, but now hundreds know about his fight against deportation and are supporting him."

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for Marroquín's case. PRDF is asking supporters to send messages demanding that the INS grant him permanent residence and stop trying to deport him.

Letters and telegrams should be directed to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Hector Marroquin tour schedule

The following is the March itinerary of Héctor Marroquín's national speaking tour:

Newport News, Va.	Feb. 29-March 3
Los Angeles	6-9
San Diego	10-12
Seaside and San Jose, Calif.	13-18
Northern California	March 28-April 3

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MAURICE BISHOP SPEAKS THE GRENADA REVOLUTION 1979-83



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Socialists launch presidential ballot drive

BY RICH STUART

The 1984 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has announced its national ballot perspectives for the 1984 elections.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party ticket — Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president — will aim to gain ballot status in 27 states and the District of Columbia.

In 1980, the SWP presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann was on the ballot in 28 states and the District of Columbia.

Kick-off in Alabama

The 1984 ballot drive will kick off on March 3 in Alabama.

This will be the first time that the SWP will petition for its presidential slate in Alabama.

Workers in Alabama face many of the same issues as workers in other states where petition drives are being organized.

Alabama coal miners and steelworkers face serious company attempts to weaken their unions. Blacks and women in Alabama have seen attacks on the Voting Rights Act and the refusal to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

The petition drive offers an opportunity to reach many of these working people with the socialist campaign.

The excellent response Mel Mason received when he recently visited Arizona copper miners indicates that Mason/González petitioners can expect a good hearing from working people all over the country, especially those of oppressed nationalities, the hardest hit by the economic crisis.

Special teams of petitioners will campaign in Alabama cities like Montgomery and Selma, scenes of historic battles during the civil rights movement of the 1960's.

Mason will travel to Alabama to boost the petitioning effort, speaking in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa at meetings organized by campaign supporters there.

The high point of the Alabama drive will be a rally in Birmingham on March 10 with Mason as the featured speaker.

The Alabama drive will be followed quickly by big petition drives in Michigan and West Virginia.

Like Alabama, this will be the first time the SWP has ever petitioned for its presidential ticket in West Virginia.

Mason/González supporters are looking forward to campaigning among coal miners in West Virginia and auto and other workers in Michigan.

Other major petitioning efforts include Illinois, where socialist campaigners plan to petition among steelworkers in Chicago, hard hit by U.S. Steel's recent decision to close some of its largest mills, throwing thousands out of work.

It was this socially irresponsible action by U.S. Steel that prompted Mason and González to call for the nationalization of the country's largest steelmaker.

Farm states

A special focus of the socialist ballot drive in 1984 will be in the farm states of the Midwest.

Petition drives will be carried out in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Iowa. These drives offer an opportunity to talk socialism with family farmers hit hard by the economic crisis. Thousands face foreclosures and evictions each year.

Other states targeted for petitioning are New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Arizona, where copper miners have been on strike since July.

One feature of the presidential elections this year is that most organizations calling themselves socialist or communist have caved in to capitalist politics behind the smokescreen of "dumping Reagan."

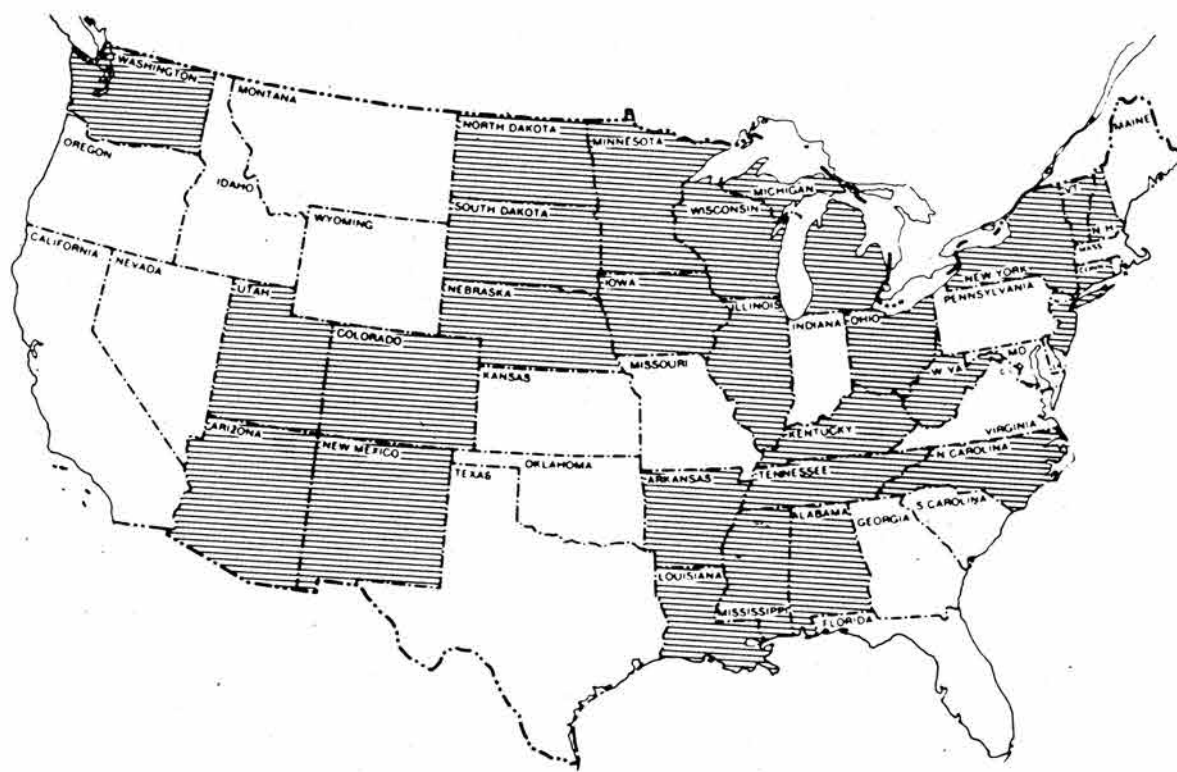
In practice this means supporting one of the eight Democratic Party candidates, in most cases the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and downplaying or even avoiding any mention of socialism.

An open field

This gives the Socialist Workers Party campaign an open field to present independent working-class political action and socialism as the road forward for working people.

The goal of the 1984 socialist campaign is to take this political perspective to work-

Put Mason & Gonzalez on '84 ballot!



Supporters of Mason and González plan to get them on ballot in 27 states (shaded) and Washington, D.C.

ing people who are trying to figure out the causes of the crisis they are facing and how to be politically effective, and win them to socialism and membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Despite the warm reception the socialist campaign will receive from working people, obstacles will be placed in the way of ballot status for the socialist candidates.

Part of the two-party system is the monopoly of the ballot by the capitalist parties in the United States.

This ballot monopoly, along with monopolizing control of the media, is designed to prevent independent forces, especially working class parties, from being able to advance their ideas in the electoral arena.

For the SWP to qualify its candidates for the California ballot in 1984 would require collecting 810,000 signatures of registered California voters.

The Democrats and Republicans will have to file 65 signatures in California this year.

In addition to denying socialists the right to a hearing for their ideas, the rulers want to create the impression that parties like the

SWP are not a legitimate part of the political life of the United States.

In spite of these attempts by the ruling class to muzzle socialist ideas, victories can be won by waging public, political fights against undemocratic ballot laws and other attacks on democratic rights.

In North Carolina, as a result of a several-years-long battle, including a court victory, the SWP candidates have earned ballot status in 1984 without having to petition.

On the other hand, new restrictions on ballot rights in states like Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Virginia, as well as massive requirements that make it prohibitive for a small party like the SWP to get on the ballot in states like California, Missouri, and Texas, mean that Mason/González supporters will be organizing write-in efforts in those states.

Local campaigns

Across the country, the SWP will field candidates for Congressional and state offices. In many cases, these campaigns will include their own petition drives.

The socialist campaign plans to take advantage of the petition drives to increase

the readership of the socialist press, the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*, among coal miners, auto workers, farmers, and all working people.

The *Militant* carries weekly coverage of the Mason/González campaign. It is a valuable resource for petitioners to use to introduce the ideas of the socialist campaign to thousands in 1984.

Attacks on the socialist candidates' ballot rights are attacks on the right of all working people to run for office and participate in politics. As such, the socialists' fight is one that deserves the support of all workers.

This is why a political campaign for a fair ballot and for the right of socialists to be on the ballot will be a part of every petition drive.

To guarantee the success of this massive effort in 1984, all those who support the socialist campaign are needed in the nationwide petition drive to put the socialist alternative on the ballot November 6.

Rich Stuart is the National Ballot Coordinator for the 1984 Socialist Workers Campaign.

Gonzalez, on nat'l tour, calls for 'no nukes'

BY JAMIE HARRIS

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrea González started her three-month nationwide tour here, the site of Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant. González was in town February 24 and 25, just a few weeks shy of the fifth anniversary of the terrible accident at TMI that almost resulted in a nuclear meltdown.

At a news conference attended by the local media, González blasted recent moves by General Public Utilities (TMI's operators) and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to push the reopening of TMI and their attempt to avoid a complete cleanup of the reactor damaged in the accident.

"These moves demonstrate the total irresponsibility of the government, the politicians, and the nuclear industry," she said. "They continue to show absolutely no concern for the health and safety of millions of people."

The socialist campaign, she said, "calls for the permanent shutdown of Three Mile Island. General Public Utilities and the nuclear industry should foot the entire bill for a cleanup of the accident."

"We also propose," González continued, "that every nuclear power plant in the country be shut down immediately and that coal be used for our energy needs instead. Coal, mined safely and burned cleanly, can put thousands of miners back to work and provide safe and inexpensive

energy for millions."

Following the news conference González took her campaign to the gates of the Bethlehem Steel mill near Harrisburg. Workers were surprised to find a vice-presidential candidate who wanted to talk to them and hear their views.

With many she discussed the deep crisis facing workers in the steel industry. She scored the recent wave of plant closings and permanent layoffs as another example of the results of the drive for profit by the owners of big business — the capitalist class.

"The recent decision by U.S. Steel to purchase National Steel for almost \$1 billion," said González, "at the same time that they continue to lay off thousands of steelworkers, is a graphic example of what's wrong with a system that puts private profits ahead of the needs of the majority."

González told workers that U.S. Steel and the entire steel industry should be taken out of the hands of its private owners and nationalized. She proposed that the industry be run by a publicly elected board to force all business decisions out in the open where working people can examine them. Administration of the industry, she said, should be subject to vigorous workers control.

She also called for the elimination of the federal war budget. "Instead," she told workers, "the money should be used to put millions back to work building schools, hospitals, housing, roads, and bridges."

González wrapped up her tour with a rally at the local Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. There she blasted the U.S. government for its ongoing efforts to shore up the right-wing regime of Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel.

She called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. ships, troops, and planes from Lebanon and the surrounding waters. Contrary to media reports, she asserted, the U.S. Navy's massive bombardment proved that the U.S. role in Lebanon was escalating, not declining.

The security of U.S. workers is not threatened by revolutionary developments in the Mideast or Central America, González continued. "The only people whose security is threatened," she said, "are the class of people with billions invested in those areas — the imperialists."

"We have no more in common with them," she told the audience, "than we do with the bosses in our factories."

González pointed to the dramatic gains won by working people in Cuba: free health care and education; the uprooting of discrimination against Blacks and women; and employment for all who want to work. González, who has visited Nicaragua, described the major steps being taken along these same lines in that country.

"It's no wonder," she concluded, "the imperialists feel threatened when working people begin to make these gains and put their own needs ahead of the interests of a tiny minority."

Text of GM document on 1984 contract goals

The following is the text of an internal General Motors document revealing the company's plans for 1984 contract negotiations with the United Auto Workers (UAW). (See story below.) The document is titled "Actions to Influence the Outcome of Bargaining." It is a report by Alfred Warren to GM personnel directors on Oct. 11, 1983. Warren is GM vice-president for industrial relations.

OBJECTIVE I: Contain labor cost per hour.

Strategies:

1. Shift forms of compensation to gain sharing: Expand profit sharing in lieu of returning AIF and additional wage/COLA increases. Seek solutions in the elimination of COLA and AIF.¹
2. Reduce the annual rate of increase in benefit costs.
3. Restructure the GIS program² to reduce administrative difficulties and contain costs, while still addressing job security concerns of the hourly employees.
4. Contain pay for time not worked.
5. Establish the principle of multi-tier wages and benefits so that wages and benefits are responsive to competitive pressures.

OBJECTIVE II: Reduce hours per car.

Strategies:

1. Actively support local changes in work practices and seniority bumping procedures that increase productivity.
2. Provide for more effective utilization of skilled trades work force.
3. Further implementation of new technology or manufacturing processes that increase productivity, reduce costs, or improve quality.
4. Discontinue the Pilot Employment Guarantee.³

1. Annual Improvement Factor (AIF), a long-time part of UAW-GM contracts, was an annual wage increase tied to worker "productivity." AIF was given up in the 1982 contract. Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) increases were also deferred in the 1982 contract, costing each GM worker \$1,500 or more in addition to wages lost through other concessions.

2. Under GIS (Guaranteed Income Stream), workers with more than 15 years' seniority were to receive half pay for long-term layoffs.

3. This program, under the 1982 GM-UAW contract, was to have studied the feasibility of "lifetime job security" for part of the work force at four GM plants.

What GM document shows

BY THOMAS McCUTCHEON

The United Auto Workers (UAW) Bargaining Convention meets in Detroit March 6-18, on the heels of disclosure of a General Motors Corp. internal document detailing the company's plans to deepen its assault on UAW members.

The GM document, which a UAW local obtained and released to the press, is titled "Actions to Influence the Outcome of Bargaining." GM has confirmed its authenticity.

It is printed on these two pages along with the response to it by the UAW International Leadership.

The document outlines GM's goals in the 1984 UAW contract, which expires in September at GM and Ford. The document is the script of a presentation given last October to GM officials by Alfred Warren, the company's vice-president for industrial relations.

The 19-page document provides a rare glimpse into the actual planning of GM's owners to increase their rate of profit at the expense of workers by driving down wages and weakening the unions.

The document's contents rip apart the myth that union concessions to the employers are temporary and will bring job security.

Further concessions, layoffs

The document outlines GM's intentions to force further concessions from the union, in addition to those given up in the 1982 contract.

GM wants to replace annual productivity and cost-of-living increases with "profit-sharing." That is, GM wants to tie annual increases to claimed corporate profitability, rather than to what it costs auto workers to live.

GM also intends to cut benefit costs and to "establish the principle" — for later expansion — of a two-tier scale of wages and benefits. It already takes new hires 18 months to reach scale. But GM wants even sharper differentiation, which would create further divisions in the union, and eventually result in much lower wages and benefits for all members — and higher profits for GM.

GM also wants to further erode working conditions at the local plant level, as well as seniority rights.

OBJECTIVE III: Enhance ability to source competitively both internally and externally.

Strategies:

1. Retain the current procedures regarding outsourcing decisions and pursue fair implementation by management.
2. Avoid infringement of management's right to effect internal sourcing decisions.
3. Facilitate competitive approach to subcontracting.

OBJECTIVE IV: Continue to shift the union/management relationship toward a joint problem-solving process.

Strategies:

1. Increase the "jointness" of QWL program.⁴
2. Strengthen the national and local Joint Councils for Job Security and the Competitive Edge.⁵
3. Initiate joint problem-solving activities at the International and local [union] levels.
4. At local level, replace the three-year cycle of formal bargaining with continuing problem-solving process ("Living Agreement").

OBJECTIVE V: Enhance individual accountability and commitment.

Strategies:

1. Achieve greater impact from use of the training fund.
2. Shift the focus of training support to upgrading the skills of the active work force.
3. Continue and/or strengthen the absenteeism program.
4. Actively support the adoption of "pay for knowledge" systems.
5. Obtain union support for more rapid diffusion of statistical process control by the hourly employees.

As our mission statement indicates, our approach to

4. QWL, or Quality of Work Life (also known as Quality Circles), refers to "joint problem-solving" programs at plant level. Many unions, including the UAW, have complained that the companies are using these programs to undercut the unions — which is indeed their purpose.

5. Like QWL, this is a joint UAW-GM program, among whose goals are "improving operational competitiveness in order to enhance job security."

Skilled tradespeople are to be "more effectively utilized," which means job combinations and job loss. More automation is to be introduced. There is to be more contracting-out of UAW jobs.

Thousands more jobs are to be cut, which GM illustrates with a chart. Of GM's current 380,000 workers, 60,000 to 120,000 are to be laid off permanently in the next two and a half years. Five years ago, the company employed 500,000 workers.

Other concessions sought by GM include stepping up the company's already-harsh campaign against absenteeism, which is one of the disciplinary means by which the auto corporations enforce horrendous hours of mandatory overtime.

GM admits 'whipsawing' locals

Besides GM's "objectives," the document also contains, almost in passing, a damning admission by Warren of "just a few of the things that will or might happen and have a bearing on the negotiations climate."

Among them are plant closings, dividend and earnings reports, and announcements of more joint ventures like that by GM-Toyota in Fremont, California.

Also on Warren's list is "whipsawing between plants to get lower costs." This refers to the GM practice of forcing workers at its own plants to compete with each other, in effect seeing who will work cheapest and hardest.

'Joint problem-solving'

Everything GM wants in the way of further concessions, or that it admits doing against the UAW, is an extension of what was codified in the 1982 contract, which has cost GM workers thousands of dollars each.

The GM document's "Objective IV: Continue to shift the union/management relationship toward a joint problem-solving process" is the context in which further concessions are sought by the company.

The document mentions increasing the "jointness" — which means participation by the union — in Quality of Work Life (QWL) programs and strengthening the "Na-

Continued on Page 16

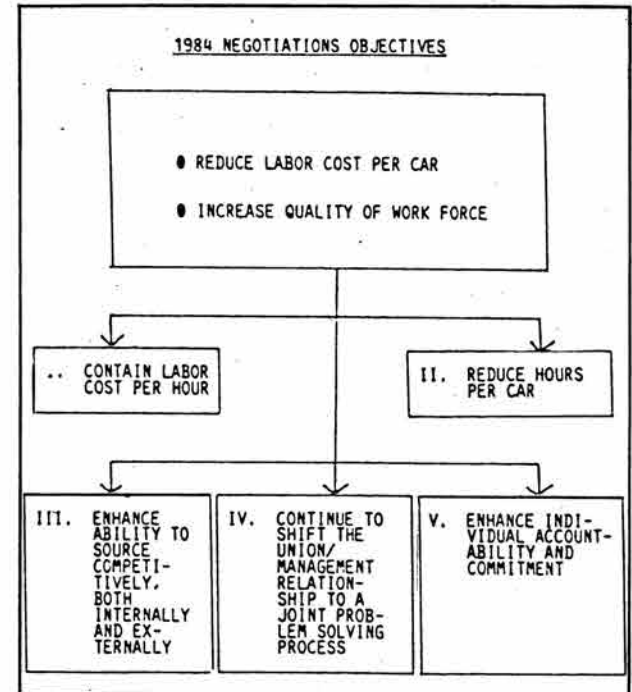


Chart accompanying GM document

communications will be two-fold — efforts initiated by management and efforts initiated jointly with the unions, and Jim Pryce will be the person most responsible for the latter on my committee. This might include things such as jointly developed films. And Jim told me last week he already developed such a film on the absenteeism program. (Call on Jim Pryce for comment.)

I'm sure we will be looking seriously at many other things we can do together to increase the acceptability and credibility of our messages to employees. What we, of course, have to remember here is that whatever we do has to be a "win-win" situation for us and the union, or it won't work.

Some of the forces that will be working against us ... and this is the rationale for our image management program ... include the following:

- The improving economy, our higher sales and earnings and other positive factors that obviously strengthen the union's position.

- The anticipated high level of GM's profits will fuel the membership's drive for "Restore and More in '84."

- Real and imagined threats to job security that were evident in 1982 will be less evident next year as increasing numbers of employees are called back from indefinite layoff. At the beginning of March 1982, we had something like 143,000 on layoff and we were well on our way to the high-water mark of 172,000 layoffs last winter. But we have called back nearly 70,000 people from layoff so far this year and we expect that number to rise to 90,000 by early next year, leaving fewer than 40,000 still on layoff.

There are a number of other issues that have the potential of exacerbating the union membership's militancy, the rigidity of the union's position and the unreasonableness of bargaining demands.

Profitability, for instance. I think you will agree that many of our employees are not at all sure their sacrifices were worthwhile and really necessary. There is uncertainty that there real has been "equality of sacrifice." They are wondering whether GM's profits have been used to increase our competitiveness and thereby their job security. There is a wide-spread perception that business is back to normal and "GM can afford it" so why not "Restore and More in '84'?"

Almost every speaker yesterday told us why not, so it's up to us to spread that message in a convincing way.

Executive bonuses could be another issue. When they are made public next year, just a short time before negotiations begin, the amounts probably will have a significant impact on what employees think.

Per-employee profit-sharing amounts probably will be considered "puny" compared to executive bonuses, so they will want more on top of profit-sharing. The amount of executive bonuses versus the amount sacrificed by hourly workers and what they got for it surely will be compared unfavorably and will impact the union's position.⁶

We will be working very hard to counter-act that very real possibility, hopefully before it becomes a major flap.

There are a number of other event-driven and date-driven things that will ... or could ... influence the union, it's membership, the media and the general public. These are just a few of the things that will or might happen and have a bearing on the negotiations climate:

- The 1983 earnings report⁷
- Any plant closings between now and then
- Special year-end dividends for stockholders⁸
- Outsourcing⁹

6. GM workers, UAW members and lower-level white-collar workers, are to get a one-time 1983 profit-sharing payment of about \$640. The company's executives will average more than \$31,000 each, while GM Chairman Roger Smith will get a bonus of \$666,000.

7. GM's 1983 earnings were \$3.73 billion, an all-time record for the corporation. Similar but lower records were set at Ford and Chrysler.

8. GM stockholders got \$11.84 a share for 1983, compared with \$3.09 for 1982.

9. Outsourcing refers to purchase of components from outside GM, often from non-UAW-organized companies.

- Whipsawing between plants to get lower costs¹⁰
- More joint venture announcements¹¹
- Our position on the voluntary import restraints, and what has been described as GM's "Japanese strategy."¹²
- Any other issues that have a bearing on worker job security and income.

So these are the things we're looking at as we move forward. In addition to doing things that are pro-active, we are going to have to be vigilant as hell to make sure we don't do something stupid and shoot our feet off.

In response to my call for help from the Divisional Advisory Group, I have received several memos as to what you in the divisions feel the major issues are that should be addressed before the 1984 negotiations get underway. Without trying to put them in priority order at this point, these were most frequently mentioned:

- We need to do a better job of making employees understand our problems are not over and that the issue is not how much money GM is making but rather how much money GM needs for the business. I noticed this was pretty high on Alex Cunningham's list, too.

- Cost-competitiveness is still required, especially in component divisions, even in light of GM's 1983 earnings and profits, and GM must still discharge its financial obligation for the \$40 billion investment.

In other words, employees need to understand that a couple of billion dollars in profits is nothing compared to the \$9 or \$10 billion we're spending on facilities. However, Don Ephlin, you'll recall, gave us some idea of just how receptive employees will be to that kind of message.

- Health care cost containment is a must. We're spending about \$2.2 billion on health care delivery this year and the cost will double in about five years if nothing is done about it.

- We need to emphasize that all GM employees will share in a portion of GM's profits through the new profit-sharing plan, and that the best avenue for future wage increases is profit-sharing.

Other things I'm hearing include these items:

- Doing something to further improve our absenteeism problem . . . which is still a problem despite the good gains we have made since 1982.

- Getting at the problems associated with the cost, increased mobility of the work force and need to confine bumping under the GIS program.

- Getting greater product quality in addition to increasing our cost-competitiveness.

And to those I might add that we'll have to do some serious thinking on how to get the message across that executive bonuses are earned and not some special privilege.

I suppose I could go on, but you get the idea of what we're looking at. And if you have other ideas, please call me because we need your input both on what we have to do and how we're going to get at it . . . especially in terms of what you need for the first-line supervisors and what form it ought to take and in what way it should be delivered. You'll recall that Ed Czapora talked yesterday about our dismal record on communicating with our employees

10. Whipsawing means playing workers at one GM plant off against those at others to force workers to accept worsened working conditions.

11. GM and Toyota are to produce cars jointly at GM's former assembly plant in Fremont, California.

12. GM is seeking to import up to 300,000 subcompact cars yearly from its Japanese affiliates, Isuzu and Suzuki, in addition to opening up the Fremont joint venture with Toyota. The company also seeks, through the Fremont operation, to introduce what GM calls "Japanese-style" labor relations. Japanese auto bosses have a freer hand in determining wages and working conditions.

UAW response to General Motors

The following is the text of the press release issued February 17 by the United Auto Workers (UAW) in response to the General Motors document.

Top UAW leaders dismissed an internal General Motors document related to collective bargaining strategy as "wishful thinking" and said the union would bargain with GM this summer "as always — on the basis of our members' needs and not the company's desires."

UAW President Owen Bieber and Vice President Donald Ephlin, who directs the union's GM Department, said that GM executives responsible for preparation of the document "are engaging in wishful thinking if they think they can persuade our GM membership to accept less than it deserves" in the forthcoming round of negotiations.

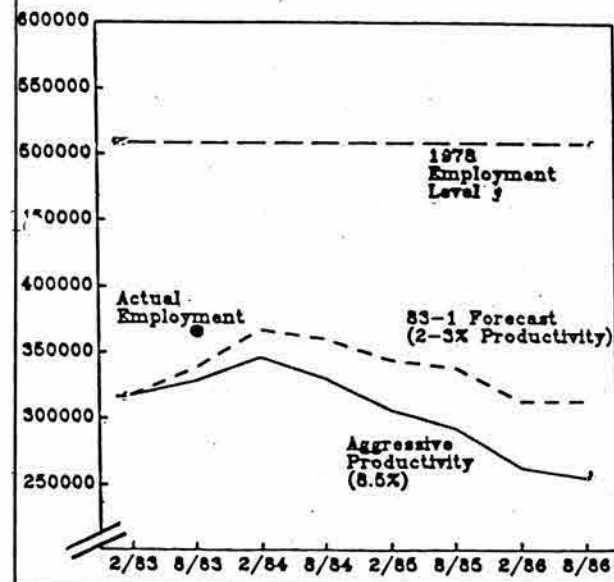
"GM has always been famous for planning, but if they think they can plan for us they're making a grave mistake," Bieber and Ephlin said. "We shape our own destiny in this union, and the rank-and-file will set the course for 1984 negotiations at our forthcoming Collective Bargaining Convention," they added.

Ephlin noted that references in the document to briefings he has received from Alfred Warren, Jr., GM's vice-president for industrial relations, "seem to imply that the company thinks it has convinced me of the correctness of many of its positions."

"In the normal course of our relationship in administering the contract, we are constantly exchanging views on

DILEMMA I: HOW LARGE WILL THE FUTURE WORK FORCE BE?

U.S. HOURLY EMPLOYMENT FORECASTS: PRODUCTIVITY INCREASE COMPARISONS



Graph from GM document shows company-projected layoffs.

and the importance of involving first-line supervisors to improve that record. So we intend to do something about that.

My initial thinking has been that a lot of this could be accomplished through "facts books" and position papers . . . such as one Bob Appel is working on now on What's Wrong with "Restore and More in '84." I'll be asking other people to develop other position papers.

Gil Waechter and I have had some preliminary discussions on a "facts book" of some type that would give us a lot of the necessary information to tell our story inside and outside GM — with all of us using the same facts and figures.

INFLUENCING UAW LEADERSHIP

- In the area of influencing UAW leadership, we plan to undertake action to provide opportunities for Union-Management dialogue and joint problem solving.

- There is a need:
 - For the Union to understand the competitive challenge,
 - For Management to understand the concerns of Union and hourly rank-and-file, and
 - To share successful joint problem-solving experiences.

- There are a number of leadership tiers that we must worry about:

- Bieber¹³
- Ephlin¹⁴
- GM Department
- UAW Technical Staff
- Regional Directors
- National Bargaining Committee
- Local Presidents and Shop Chairmen

Actions to influence the UAW will be concentrated on

13. Owen Bieber, UAW president.

14. Donald Ephlin, head of the UAW's GM Department.

three levels: Ephlin, the National Bargaining Committee, and regional and local UAW leaders. Some of the ideas being considered or being implemented include:

• Dialogues with Ephlin:

- Continuation of the one-on-one briefings of Ephlin by ASW.¹⁵

- A series of one-on-one sessions for Ephlin to exchange views with key members of Management.

- It is proposed that Ephlin, together with ASW and FJMc,¹⁶ visit a number of plants where innovative solutions have been devised.

- Provide Ephlin the time to educate secondary leadership and the regional sub-councils on profit sharing.

• National Bargaining Committee:

- A series of one-day workshops would be scheduled on a monthly basis for both the UAW National Bargaining Committee and GM. The intent would be to provide a common information base, an opportunity for dialogue in a problem-solving context, and a focus on the business needs as a reference point for future bargaining.

- A joint Union/Management off-site meeting on the auto industry of the 80's could be scheduled. The objectives would be to shift the focus of bargaining to future business needs and foster a mutual interest in improving the bargaining process. Presentations by Management, Union, and external speakers would be made. The group would develop joint principles for Union/Management relations in the 1980's.

- Based on the joint principles for the 1980's, a Joint Task Force on Bargaining would be appointed by ASW and Ephlin to review the formal bargaining process and recommend changes to facilitate achieving the mutual objectives.

- Our success at the bargaining table depends on how successful we are in dealing with the Union well before bargaining begins.

- There is a strong need to influence Union leaders' values/positions through bottom-up educational processes, in addition to direct GM-UAW executive-level communications.

- The effectiveness of communication efforts will be affected by the consistency of the messages being sent by all levels of Management. It is thus important that these messages are coordinated and that all levels of Management (including foremen) understand the direction the Corporation chooses to take in the forthcoming negotiations.

- A focus on "win-win" strategies, joint problem-solving approaches, and extensive communication/education efforts will enhance the potential for success.

Study Committees

- Alternative economic objectives for 1984
- Alternative packages
- COLA/AIF gain sharing
- Profit sharing
- Benefits
- Outsourcing
- Skilled trades
- Multi-tier wages and benefits
- Pay for time not worked
- Viable work force configuration of the future
- Alternative corporate structures
- Strike considerations
- Image management
- Skill/training for hourly work force
- Analytical and technical support

- Likely strategies: Ford and UAW

Chairman

- Nelson Appel
- Haubold Krain
- Olthoff White
- Pfeifer Haubold
- Pryce Chew
- Dilworth Crane
- Mueller Bolda
- Snider/Waechter
- Curd

POTENTIAL MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS FOR TARGET OPERATIONS

- Freeze in existing compensation levels.
- Modification to selected new wage and/or benefit provisions otherwise provided by the 1984 national agreement.
- Time-lagged introduction of selected new economic provisions.
- Reduced hiring rates and extended grow-in provisions for new employees.
- Contractual modification to provide for local approval of wage agreements.
- Subcontracting of service work.
- ?

15. Alfred S. Warren, GM vice-president, industrial relations.

16. F. James McDonald, GM president.

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Texaco workers go on strike

BY HALKET ALLEN

LOS ANGELES — More than 500 workers at Texaco's Wilmington refinery here, plus 200 others at the company's Anacortes, Washington, refinery, were forced on strike February 24 over Texaco's extensive demands for concessions.

The strikers, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), had been working without a contract since the old one expired January 7.

Other major oil companies, in the usual industry pattern, settled — if slowly — with OCAW after Gulf Oil signed in January. But Texaco has been trying to break OCAW for some time. The company wants givebacks in wages and seniority rights so sweeping they can only be called union-busting.

Texaco, unlike the other oil companies, not only refused to extend the old contract during negotiations, but also refused to continue the union's dues checkoff.

Texaco has agreed to the same wage increase as the Gulf settlement of 20 cents an hour the first year and 35 cents the second, but is demanding the following:

- Elimination of seniority, both to bump to another job if a unit is permanently shut down (which would put workers from that unit onto the street), and to bid on open jobs.

This would gut the union's seniority system.

- Lengthening the base workweek from 40 hours at present to 42.

- A starting rate of \$7.75 an hour, a little more than half the current wage. It would take a worker three years to reach scale. This two-tier wage structure would divide the union.

- A "wage realignment" that would give Texaco the right to lay off refinery workers earning an average of about \$14 an hour and replace them with nonunion, contract workers at less than \$7 an hour.

This would mean a major loss of union jobs.

Each one of these demands, by itself, is a frontal assault on the union. But Texaco wants even more.

The company wants to combine all crafts — pipefitters, machinists, boilermakers, welders, and others — in one department and require workers to learn all crafts and pass a company test before becoming a number one (journey) craftsman.

Texaco also wants to be able to lay off OCAW operators during temporary shut-downs and to be able to replace them during maintenance with nonunion contractors.

The company also wants to deduct sick days and time spent on union business from vacation days. And it wants to eliminate the dues checkoff.

Texaco is demanding a separate, one-year contract at its sulfur plant here, which is part of the Wilmington refinery and whose workers are represented by the same union local, OCAW 1-128.

Texaco's union-busting intentions were clear to OCAW members here after the

company organized a decertification effort, which failed, at the sulfur plant last fall.

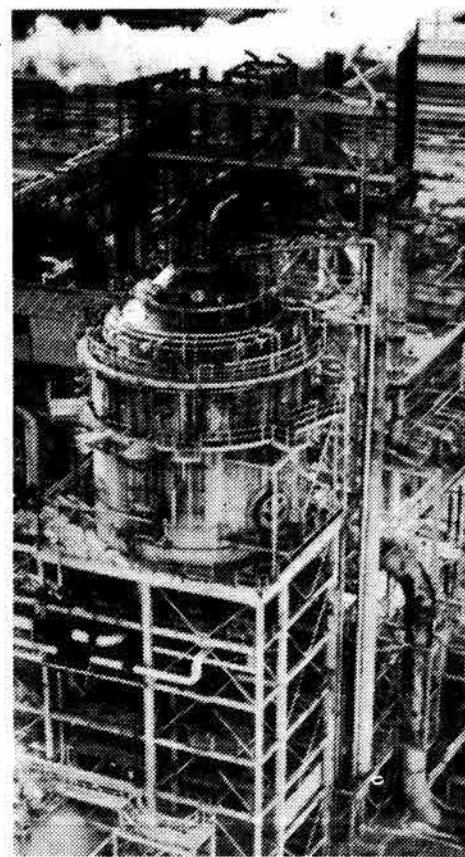
Two years ago Texaco was able to get a three-year contract at its flagship refinery at Port Arthur, Texas, breaking that refinery away from the common expiration date that has been the industry norm.

Many OCAW workers here feel that Texaco, through its recent acquisition of Getty Oil for \$10 billion, now has excessive refinery capacity and is thus taking a hard line in negotiations.

Many Texaco workers here have friends or relatives who work at the nearby McDonnell Douglas plant, and they followed the recent strike there closely. They are discussing how to win solidarity from other unions.

Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has said it will provide jobs on the docks for striking Texaco workers. This is an act of solidarity that will help OCAW in its fight against Texaco's union-busting.

Halket Allen is a member of OCAW Local 1-128 at Texaco's Wilmington refinery.



Texaco refinery

Selma Blacks fight for voting rights

BY PAT LEAMON

SELMA, Ala. — Nineteen years ago this central Alabama town was the sight of bloody battles for the right of Blacks to vote — battles that led to passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Today, voting rights are again under attack in Selma.

On February 13, 10 deputy voter registrars — 8 of them Black — were suddenly fired by the Dallas County Board of Registrars. Selma is the county seat.

The firings were decided at a meeting of Mayor Joe Smitherman, State Sen. Earl Goodwin, and the two white members of

the board of registrars. The board's only Black member, Edwin Moss, was not consulted, and he thinks the firings were illegal.

Moss told the *Militant* that at last count, 11,000 whites and 9,000 Blacks are registered in this majority-Black county.

The deputy registrars had started closing the gap. They had gone throughout the county registering people at publicized, local meetings after work. This meant people were not forced to travel to the county courthouse during the few weekdays the board of registrars is open. Of 288 people registered in Selma since January 1, 259 were Black.

Cecil Williamson, a white minister and city councilman, has started a white registration drive called SAVE (Selma Area Voter Enlistment). "The idea is to get whites registered and keep the Blacks from taking over City Hall," he told the media. "We just don't want them in control."

Far from being "in control," Blacks here have yet to obtain even equal political representation. The white mayor has been in office for nearly 20 years. The city council has a six to five white majority. And until last year, there were no Black state senators from this area.

In elections slated for July 10, Mayor Smitherman is being challenged by F.D. Reese, a Black council member. Blacks also hope to win at least one more seat on the city council.

In explaining the firings, Smitherman said, "All I was doing was trying to get some deputy registrars to help me like they've been helping out my opponent." Williamson of SAVE is one of those appointed to replace fired deputy registrars. He is also running for city council president.

According to Perry Varner, a young Black community leader and one of those fired, SAVE really means, "Save Selma from the Blacks." He told the *Militant* the firings are a move to slow down or stop Black registration.

"I'll help them register white people too," he said. "Just don't throw blocks out there to keep us from registering."

The pretext for the firings was that photocopies of blank registration forms were used instead of only those supplied by the secretary of state's office as the law requires. But since the Board of Registrars is open only 10 days each month, deputy registrars are often unable to get enough forms. And according to Varner, officials in the office refuse to give out more than a few blank forms at a time.

After protests from the Black community, the white majority on the board of registrars partially backed down and began appointing deputy registrars again, half of whom are to be Black. Some of those fired have been reappointed. But neither Varner nor Marie Foster, a long-time activist and community leader, has been reappointed.

Marie Foster has led voting rights efforts here for more than 20 years. In 1963 she started "citizenship classes" after work to

teach Blacks how to fill out the complex voter registration forms. It took Foster herself eight years of trying before she was registered in 1961.

Before passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, she explained, those few Blacks who filed registration forms usually received a form letter stating they had "missed one or more pertinent questions." As a result, fewer than 130 Blacks were registered to vote in majority-Black Dallas County before 1965. "They've been doing this for a long time," Foster told the *Militant*, "throwing obstacles in our way. That's what they're doing now."

"In the '60s they used all their strategies and techniques," she said. "But nothing would deter us."

"Now, we're thinking like then, what we're going to do about these obstacles."

For now, Black leaders plan a mass voter registration drive and hope to open an office to register people full time. They are distributing a leaflet that reads: "The hands that picked cotton can now vote but [Smitherman and others] conspired to deprive Black voters of the ballot box by firing the deputy registrars." It concludes: "Our time has come" for a Black mayor and city council president.

Perry Varner summed up the spirit in Selma today: "We refuse to be averted. We'll take whatever steps are necessary."

U. of Calif. forced to rehire teacher in discrimination case

On February 17, a settlement was announced in the fight by Asian-American teacher Merle Woo against her discriminatory firing from the University of California (UC) at Berkeley in June 1982.

The UC Regents approved a settlement that returns Woo to work with a two-year contract in the school's Department of Education; gives her a cash reward of \$48,584; and \$25,000 in attorney's fees.

Woo had been a lecturer in the Asian-American Studies Program at UC since 1978. She was terminated under a new policy that allowed the school to dismiss untenured lecturers after they have been teaching for four years.

The UC Council of the American Federation of Teachers challenged the four-year rule as an unfair labor practice. The Public Employment Relations Board ruled in November 1983 in the union's favor and ordered UC to reinstate Woo and all other lecturers fired under the rule, with back pay and interest. UC appealed the ruling, however, and refused to rehire Woo.

Woo filed complaints in federal and state court, charging that the reason she was fired was her vocal criticisms of university violations of students' rights and racist discrimination on campus. She also charged discrimination against herself because she is a socialist and lesbian feminist.

Mason team heads for Rio Grande

BY TONY AUSTIN

HOUSTON — A three-person team of campaigners for the 1984 Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket has begun a fact-finding trip to the Rio Grande Valley in south Texas, beginning their tour with a stop in Corpus Christi.

On the team are José Alvarado, Texas

Socialist candidate hits death penalty

Continued from front page

"This is especially outrageous," said Mason, "because, at the very same time, the real terrorists — those who run the U.S. government — have stepped up their naval bombardment of civilian targets in Lebanon, their aid to the murderous Salvadoran dictatorship, and cop brutality here at home."

"The real criminals are in Washington," continued Mason. "This phony 'anticrime' campaign is a transparent attempt to try to get the minds of U.S. workers off our real problems such as war, unemployment, and racist and sexist discrimination."

"Widening the use of the death penalty is aimed at all working people in this country," asserted Mason. He pointed out that the labels such as "terrorists" and "spies" have historically been used by the rulers of this country against strikers who defend themselves on picket lines, opponents of U.S. wars abroad, socialists, communists, and others. The 1953 executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "treasonous spies" are just two examples.

"The main victims of legal murder have always been working and poor people," Mason said, "especially Blacks, Chicanos, and Latinos, who can never forget that the electric chair, the gas chamber, and the noose have always been used disproportionately against us."

Mason called on all supporters of civil liberties to protest the Senate's legal-murder bill and all other steps to extend the use of capital punishment. "The time to protest is now," he said, "before another law is passed or another victim of this inhuman punishment is put to their death."

SWP candidate for the 18th Congressional District and a leader of the Houston Young Socialist Alliance; Patricia Sánchez, a Houston YSA leader, and Elsa Blum, a San Antonio SWP leader who just returned from a trip to Nicaragua.

The socialists will be meeting with farm workers and other unionists, immigrant workers, Latino groups, and others in the Valley to learn about the situation for working people there and to spread the word about the 1984 SWP ticket of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president. González will join the team in the Valley from March 7-9.

Beverly Andalora, Texas SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, explained the importance of the trip. "The population of the Valley is about 80 percent Latino," she said. "Approximately 30,000 farm workers have lost their livelihood because of the freeze last December that destroyed much of the area's citrus crop. The already high jobless rate has jumped from 18 percent to 30 percent."

Andalora said the Democratic and Republican politicians "have only given lip service to providing relief for working people in the Valley. The emergency federal aid released to compensate for the crop disaster has gone overwhelmingly to the big growers, while farm workers are getting an average of \$31 a week."

Andalora said the SWP team will be discussing the socialist solutions to unemployment and attacks on workers' rights put forward by the Mason-González ticket. They will also be talking with activists in Latino organizations in the area, where there is an important discussion unfolding on U.S. war policy; immigration; unemployment; voter rights; and how to forge an alliance with Blacks, women, and labor.

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12. Send check or money order to: Barricada Internacional, Apdo. No. 576 Managua, Nicaragua.

Shultz lectures Nicaragua on 'democracy'

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

On February 21, the Nicaraguan government announced that elections will take place next November 4 for president, vice-president, and a 90-member national assembly.

This announcement came under immediate fire from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who called into question how fair the elections would be, who should be allowed to campaign, and who should vote. He even criticized the scheduled date: "it is something that is being called on very short notice." This criticism was particularly outrageous since Washington has been complaining for years that Nicaragua is undemocratic because it hadn't called elections yet!

Shultz tried to contrast the elections in Nicaragua to the upcoming elections in El Salvador, where, he said, there will be lots of international observers, perhaps even "more observers than voters."

Observers there will be in El Salvador, and not only international ones. The Salvadoran people will be going to the polls under the watchful eyes of the death squads and U.S.-trained army.

As for rights in the Salvadoran elections, forget it.

The liberation forces in El Salvador cannot even run in the elections, for fear of being murdered.

Shultz also took a swipe at the Nicaraguan government's proposal to let 16-year-olds vote, saying "I don't know of any country — I don't claim to be an expert on this — I never heard of anybody having a voting age of 16. That's an interesting little wrinkle. I don't know why they did that."

For Shultz's information, Nicaragua is not the only country where 16 is the voting age. Cuba, another revolutionary country where youth play an important role, also has the 16-year-old vote. Neither the Cuban or Nicaraguan governments seem to fear young people going to the polls, unlike Mr. Shultz.

The Nicaraguan government, in fact, made the decision to lower the voting age after youth in the country campaigned for this measure.

The Sandinista Youth, an organization representing young Nicaraguans, organized demonstrations and a petitioning campaign. Lowering the voting age has been a big topic of discussion among the Nicaraguan people, and there is broad support for it. The petition to lower the age said, "We are building the country. We want to vote!"

This is certainly true and is the central reason the government proposes to lower the voting age.

Many young Nicaraguans, some 13 years old and even younger, actively fought and participated in the revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Somoza.

Today, students during school vacation volunteer to help harvest the crops. Many young people participate in the militias to defend the country. They are eager to be part of building a new society in the interests of the workers and farmers.

Shultz complained that Nicaragua's elections would be undemocratic unless the government allowed "rival political groups to form themselves and have access to people, to have the right to assembly, to have access to the media, to spread their views around, and so on."

The fact is, all parties in Nicaragua will be allowed to field candidates and have full access to the media. Even people who have been involved in military attacks on the revolution have been offered amnesty, with the right to participate in the elections, if they return and lay down their arms. The only Nicaraguans excluded from this are the heads of the terrorist organizations killing Nicaraguan workers and peasants on a daily basis.

My question for Shultz is, how "democratic" are elections in the United States?

What about the Blacks and Latinos being denied the right to register? What about the election laws that function to keep working-class and independent Black candidates off the ballot and let the big business parties, the Democrats and Republicans, have a virtual monopoly on the ballot and the media?

Unlike Shultz and the capitalist politicians, one party in the United States hailed the announcement of Nicaragua's elections. That party is the Socialist Workers Party, which is running Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president.

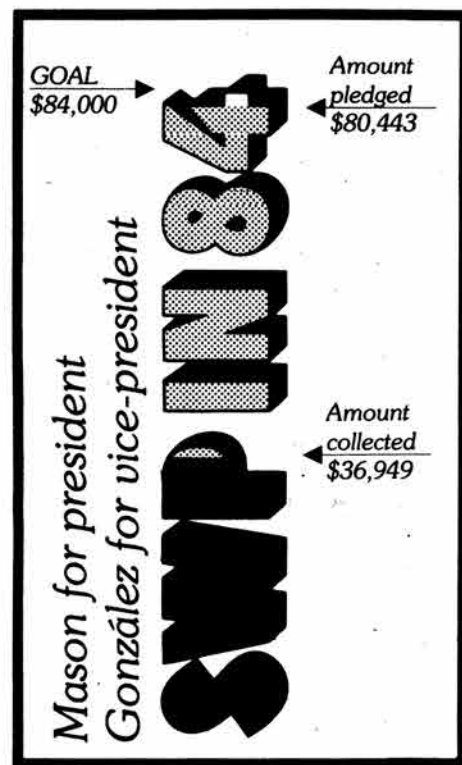
As Mason and González pointed out in greetings sent to the Nicaraguan people and the government, "these will be the first free elections in Nicaraguan history because they will take place in a Nicaragua that is free for the first time in history — free, above all, from the political domination of Washington."

Judy Stranahan is a national youth coordinator for the Socialist Workers Party campaign.



George Shultz

Media coverage boosts socialist campaign



BY YVONNE HAYES

The only voice for socialism in the 1984 presidential elections, the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González, is striking a chord with working people around the country. Mason recently received a letter from a woman in St. Petersburg, Florida, which read:

"I enjoyed hearing you as a guest on Station WFLA.

"I, too, am interested in having a government of the people, by the people and for the people, as I was led to believe when

I was a kid.

"I want to know more."

This listener learned about the socialist campaign when Mason spoke on a radio talk show. She was interested in the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, and wrote: "I want a subscription but the price slipped my mind. Let me know."

In response to an interview with Andrea González, which was carried by the *Jersey Journal* in Jersey City, New Jersey, a young Black man looked for the SWP campaign in the phone book and called up. He wanted to come by the New York headquarters of the Mason-González campaign to learn more about the socialist program for working people.

Stories in the news media on the socialist campaign and interviews with Mason and González are important vehicles for reaching thousands of workers and youth with ideas for revolutionary change. In Tucson, two daily papers covered Mason's tour to Arizona copper mining towns, where workers are waging a bitter strike against Phelps Dodge. And the socialist campaign's response to Reagan's "State of the Union" message was carried in Chicago and Atlanta, while United Press International sent out a wire story on the socialists' call for nationalizing U.S. Steel.

The Mason-González campaign will continue to respond to events in the class struggle through the big-business media. But waging an effective campaign to win television and radio time and newspaper coverage takes both organization and money.

The dollars that have been received in response to the \$84,000 campaign kick-off fund appeal have helped to score the initial successes. To keep up this work, however,

more is needed.

In the last week, \$2,654 in new pledges have been made to the fund, bringing the total pledged to \$80,443. We are confident that we can close the gap with the help of our supporters.

We know from the response that Mason and González have already received that the field is wide open. The big challenge is to organize to take advantage of these opportunities. Collecting the \$84,000 is part of this challenge and essential to producing new campaign materials, responding to the important events of the day, getting the socialist campaign on the ballot, and crisscrossing the country to meet working people to discuss socialist ideas and the fighting perspective of the Mason-González campaign.

You can help us meet this challenge by sending in your contribution today and by encouraging others to do the same.

☐ I am contributing \$_____ to the \$84,000 Socialist Workers presidential campaign fund.

☐ I would like to be a campaign volunteer.

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____

Zip _____ Tel. _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers
Presidential Campaign, 14
Charles Ln., New York, NY 10014
(paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee)

Mel Mason, Socialist presidential candidate, vows to fight for labor

By Tom Beal
The Arizona Daily Star

Arizona's labor struggles are a good example of how working people are not represented by either major political party, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party said here yesterday.

Mel Mason, after meeting over the weekend with copper miners in the eighth month of their strike against Phelps Dodge Corp., said the actions of Gov. Bruce Babbitt — a Democrat and "supposedly a friend of labor" — show that the party is no friend of the working man.

"There's a Democratic governor who got out the National Guard and the state police on the strikers," said Mason at a news conference at the Northwest Neighborhood Center.

Mason, 41, a former city councilman from Seaside, Calif., was nominated at a December party convention in New York along with Socialist Workers' vice presidential candidate Andrea González.

He said he will use his candidacy to spread word of the struggle of the 13 unions against P-D and to convince voters that "workers need their own political party."

Mason conceded that his is a long struggle.

"There is no short-cut to revolution," he said of the party's goal of establishing a socialist government in the United States. "People are not yet to the point where they're ready to have a revolution. First, they have to exhaust every means to adapt the system to their needs," Mason said.

But Mason said he is convinced that there is no way of reforming the Democrats or the Republicans — a mistake he said the Rev. Jesse Jackson is making in his bid to be the Democratic Party's nominee.

"I have a lot of respect for him in terms of what he's contributed to the civil rights struggle," Mason said of Jackson.

But he said that Jackson is wrong to think that capitalism or the Democratic Party can be reformed. Instead, he said, Jackson is being forced to change his earlier views on issues ranging from support for the Palestinians to his stand against U.S. involvement in Central America.

"The more serious he becomes in his own mind, the more conservative he has to be," Mason said.

Mason, a former member of the Black Panther Party who embraced socialism when he decided that capitalism was the root of what he considers the country's racist policies, has no plan to adapt his views to the current political philosophy. "We're committed to the long-term struggle," he said of the party's goal of educating people on the advantages of socialism.

His platform, were he ever allowed to institute it, would include the abolition of the "war budget," with that money used instead to fund a nationwide public-works program and institution of a 30-hour work week to further full employment.

And were he somehow elevated to the position he seeks, Mason said, he would have no more trouble dealing with a Congress full of capitalists than he did on the Seaside City Council, where he mustered public support to push an accelerated minority hiring program through a "council with four racists who were totally opposed to affirmative action."

Tucson was the first stop on a tour that he hopes will take him to 48 states, Grenada, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico and Cuba.



Mason, at Tucson's Northwest Neighborhood Center, concedes he has a long struggle

N.Y.-N.J. union officials appeal to Kirkland

The December 1983 issue of the *District Three Leader*, a publication of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (IUE) in New York and New Jersey, was only recently received by the *Militant*. It carried an open letter to AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland.

"We are writing to you because the union movement is in serious danger," said the letter signed by Archer Cole, president of IUE District 3; Lou Dudek, vice-president; and Sal Ingrassia, secretary-treasurer. "We look to your leadership for action which will stiffen labor's ranks and let our enemies know they are in for a fight."

The IUE officials list a series of "new outrages [which] face organized labor and threaten the gains we have made over the past 50 years." These, they say, include attacks on the right to strike, corporate use of bankruptcy laws to bust unions, and ongoing demands for contract concessions, among others.

"It is our belief that labor must take a stand," they wrote. "Wherever these flagrant attacks on unions occur, it should be made the property of the entire labor movement."

"Once it was the air controllers, now it is the Phelps Dodges, the Wilsons, the Continentals, the

Greyhounds and hundreds of less publicized attacks."

The letter was written while the Greyhound strike was on. "National AFL-CIO and every subordinate body should mobilize for massive strike support wherever the challenge is laid down, starting with Greyhound," the IUE leaders wrote.

This proposal for mobilizing labor's power in effective strike solidarity deserves a wide hearing and a discussion within the union movement.

ACTWU leader debates State Dept.

The February 1984 issue of the *IUE News* reports on a debate conducted before a recent meeting of the IUE Executive Board on the subject of U.S. policy in El Salvador.

Michael Skol, a State Department representative, presented Washington's view that "a big increase" in U.S. military assistance is needed by the Salvadoran regime "to keep the whole thing from falling apart."

Skol was answered by Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and a co-chair of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Sheinkman participated in a fact-finding visit to El Salvador organized by the labor

committee last summer. IUE Pres. William Bywater is also a member of the committee.

The *IUE News* reports that Sheinkman "disputed each point made by Skol."

"He said the present supposedly 'centrist' government which Reagan policy supports is intertwined with right-wing death squad members..."

Sheinkman, according to the union paper's report, "said he saw no evidence of human rights improvements; he saw continuing butchery on a scale hard for Americans to comprehend."

Sheinkman warned of the danger of another Vietnam-style U.S. war. The *IUE News* reports Sheinkman's view "That the rebels are supported by trade unionists, church people and radicals targeted as subversives by the military-right wing alliance."

The electrical workers' paper indicates that Sheinkman's view had wide support at the executive board meeting.

Women miners win important grievance

The December 1983 issue of *Coal Mining Women's Support Team News* reports that three women members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) recently won an important grievance against Consolidation Coal Co. (Consol).

Judi Crane, Beverly Shelton, and Theresa Walker were designated by their union, UMWA Local 2216, to attend the Fifth National Conference of Women Miners held in Dawson, Pennsylvania, last June. The local paid their expenses to go.

Consol denied the routine union request that the women be excused from work for union business. The three used vacation time and personal and sick leave in order to attend the conference without facing company victimization, but they also filed a grievance through the union.

Following a September 21 hearing the union won the grievance in arbitration. The company had attempted to deny it on the grounds that the conference was not formally sponsored by the UMWA but by the Coal Employment Project.

The *News* reports: "In awarding the grievance... the arbitrator pointed out that the conference dealt with such subjects that would undoubtedly be beneficial to female hourly employees and that although non-union women were present, the UMWA has been in the forefront in the representation of women throughout the coal industry."

"The fact that the conference was not sponsored by the UMWA is not justification for denying requested leave and that the conference qualifies as a union activity as outlined... in the contractual agreement."

— GEOFF MIRELOWITZ



UMWA Pres. Rich Trumka and women miners at CEP conference

Irish activist appeals deportation to Supreme Court

BY WILL REISSNER

The U.S. Court of Appeals in New York ruled February 21 that former Irish Republican Army (IRA) member Michael O'Rourke should be deported to Ireland, where he faces long years in jail. A five-week delay in carrying out the deportation was granted to allow O'Rourke to appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court.

In addition, Congressman Roman Borski of Philadelphia has introduced legislation calling on Congress to grant permanent residency to O'Rourke. Passage of the bill requires a vote by the House of Representatives.

Michael O'Rourke has been in jail without bail since October 1979 and is the longest held person in the history of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). He is seeking political asylum because his IRA membership would subject him to persecution in Ireland.

Numerous Irish-American organizations have supported O'Rourke's fight for asylum. One week before the appeals court ruled against him, O'Rourke was elected honorary grand marshal of New York's St. Patrick's Day parade. In 1983 he was honorary grand marshal of the parades in Philadelphia and Kansas City.

Dublin-born, O'Rourke joined the IRA after a 1971 trip to British-ruled Northern Ireland, where he was shocked by the discrimination against the Catholic population. In 1975 he was arrested in the formally independent south of Ireland and was sentenced to six years in jail on charges of possession of explosives.

O'Rourke escaped from prison in 1976. In February 1978 he entered the United States, using a false name to get a visitor's visa. He settled in Philadelphia, married a U.S. citizen, and lived quietly until his arrest in October 1979.

The U.S. Court of Appeals turned down O'Rourke's application for political asylum as well as his request for permanent resident status based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen. It upheld his deportation to Ireland and refused his request for voluntary departure to a third country of his choosing.

Political asylum is supposed to be granted when a person has a "well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, political opinion, nationality or membership in a particular social group."

Although membership in the IRA is illegal in Ireland, the appeals court stated O'Rourke "has not shown, through his vague and general claims, that his fear is reasonable."

The court also rejected O'Rourke's argument that his actions were political in nature. Without considering the activities that led to his jailing, the court argued that "the Republic of Ireland has a valid nonpolitical interest in prosecuting those who escape from prison."

The three-judge panel dismissed his claim that he would be subject to long additional imprisonment for his escape from jail as "unsubstantiated assertions."

O'Rourke's attorneys had also argued that he had been denied due process of law

in his 1981 trial in an INS court. At that time Judge Ernest Hupp had indicated that he might grant O'Rourke permanent resident status. But before Hupp got a chance to rule, he removed himself from the case after being followed by a car for 120 miles.

Hupp initially thought his pursuers might be IRA supporters, but it was later discovered that the surveillance had been carried out by INS agents.

Yet the appeals court decided that O'Rourke's "due process claims arising out of Judge Hupp's decision to recuse [remove] himself are so lacking in substance as to merit no discussion."

The attempt to deport O'Rourke is part of a wider campaign against supporters of Irish freedom and reunification being

waged from Washington, London, and Dublin. Since 1982 more than two dozen Irish nationalists have been charged with various offenses in the United States. The Irish-American Defense Fund, established in May 1982, has already spent more than \$264,000 for those already charged.

In a February 24 speech in Northern Ireland, U.S. Ambassador to Britain Charles Price stated that the United States Customs Service is also being enlisted in the campaign against supporters of Irish freedom in the United States.

A principal target of the new action, Price said, is Irish Northern Aid, which raises funds for the families of political prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland.

Nicaraguan women's leader speaks in Calif.

BY DEBBY TARNOPOL

SAN JOSE — On February 20, 150 people here responded enthusiastically to a speech on "How Nicaraguan Women are Breaking the Chains of Oppression."

Magda Enríquez, a founding member of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) and the representative of AMNLAE to the Nicaraguan Council of State, was the featured speaker.

A major sponsor and organizer of the meeting was the San Jose chapter of the National Organization for Women. NOW publicized the meeting at its activities and in its newsletter, and a committee of NOW members helped organize the event. Several union bodies also backed the meeting.

In her speech Enríquez emphasized the importance of this effort by NOW. "Women in the United States and Nicaragua working together can help make the struggle against women's oppression a truly international one," she said.

"In the United States, money is taken away from people trying to build child-care centers. It's given to the Pentagon to build bombs that kill people in Nicaragua who are building child-care centers," she noted.

Enríquez spoke about the importance of women having a say in government, but emphasized that it is not a question of tokens or individuals. In Nicaragua women get laws passed. She pointed to one example — in Nicaragua the first point in the

Bill of Rights is a guarantee of equal rights for women.

At the end of the program a contribution of \$389 was presented to Enríquez to aid AMNLAE in its work.

The meeting gained wide support in San Jose. It was endorsed by the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, International Association of Machinists Local 562, Service Employees International Union locals 715 and 535, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265, San Jose State University Women's Center, Santa Clara County Council of Churches, and others.

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Militant/Jon Britton
Magda Enríquez, Nicaraguan Women's Association representative to the Council of State.

Canada forum hears the truth on Grenada

BY JOHN OLMSTED

WINDSOR, Canada — A spirited crowd of over 300 people turned out for a rally here February 16 in solidarity with the Grenada revolution.

The featured speaker was Don Rojas, former press secretary to Maurice Bishop, the murdered prime minister of Grenada.

The meeting was held in Windsor because the Reagan administration has barred Rojas from entering the United States, despite the fact his wife is a U.S. citizen. Over half the audience crossed the river from Detroit, making it one of the first opportunities people in the United States have had to hear the truth about the Grenada revolution first hand.

The rally was cosponsored by the Center for Black Studies at Wayne State University in Detroit and the African Students Association at the University of Windsor.

In introducing Rojas, Dr. Perry Hall, director of the Center for Black Studies, recalled that Maurice Bishop had spoken at Wayne State in June of last year. The impact of that meeting led the department to devote two days of its Black history month activities to study of the Grenada revolution.

The rally received broad endorsement on both sides of the border, including Tom Turner, president of the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO; congressmen George Crockett and John Conyers; Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Cathy Callahan, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1640; and the Ontario Occupational Health and Safety Council.

Statements of solidarity from endorsing organizations were presented at the opening of the rally by a representative of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party, Richard Reyes of CISPES, and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party.

The film *The Future Coming Toward Us* was shown. A dynamic movie about the Grenada revolution, it was completed just days before the October 1983 coup led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard against the revolutionary government of Bishop.

Don Rojas, who received a standing ovation when he was introduced, opened his talk by stating:

"In the name of a once-free and proud country that is today suffering under the boot of foreign military domination, I bring you revolutionary greetings."

Rojas gave a detailed description of the development of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) that led the revolution, the conditions of life under the former U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy, and the popular revolution that overthrew him in 1979.

He went on to describe "two days of infamy" — Oct. 19, 1983, when Bishop and the other leaders were murdered by the Coard supporters, and Oct. 25, 1983, day of the invasion of the island by 6,000 U.S. marines.

Rojas spent the last half of his talk drawing out the lessons to be learned from the events. "They taught us a number of valuable lessons and were a timely impetus to the struggles for national liberation in Southern Africa, the Middle East and Central America."

Referring to the problems within the NJM that were used by the Coard faction: "These were not unexpected or unusual... all other revolutions went through similar

periods of ebb and flow."

Answering the question what would the future of Grenada have been without the U.S. invasion, he stated, "I am quite certain that left alone, the Grenadian masses, working with the mature and scientific elements of the NJM who survived the massacre, would have used their own creative devices to rid themselves of the dreaded military council led by Coard."

As to the future of the revolution, Rojas said, "The Grenada revolution is not dead. We have to regroup and rebuild... Months and perhaps years of hard struggle lie ahead of us."

"We must follow the example of the FMLN forces who have scored a significant victory over sectarianism and divisionism," he added, referring to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

Rojas ended by stating: "The understandable feelings of despair and insecurity experienced by so many comrades *must now come to an end*. Now is not the time for mourning, now is the time for organizing!"

The crowd then broke into chants of "Long live the Grenada revolution!"

Over \$400 was raised in a collection for the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation.



Don Rojas, press secretary to Grenada's murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, speaking in Windsor, Ontario.

U.S. rushes military aid to Lebanon

Continued from front page

But a UN force would not serve the cause of peace and justice in Lebanon even if it were sent in. A UN force of 5,800 troops has been in southern Lebanon for five years. While it hasn't hesitated to turn its guns on Palestinian freedom fighters based in Lebanon, it let thousands of Israeli soldiers pass through its territory during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Real content of May 17 accord

The announcement that Gemayel had decided he must scrap the May 17, 1983, Israeli-Lebanon accord in order to negotiate with Syria — and save his own skin — was a blow to Washington's and Israel's goals in Lebanon and the entire Middle East.

The May 17 accord has always been presented as an agreement by the Israelis to withdraw from Lebanon on the condition that the Syrians and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) do likewise. This is false.

In fact, the Israelis *never* agreed to withdraw from Lebanon.

The accord, which was negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, formalized the permanent Israeli military and political grip on southern Lebanon. It also provided for a form of diplomatic recognition of the Zionist state by Lebanon, making it the only other Arab country besides Egypt to do so.

Washington had a giant stake in this agreement. "We have crossed an important threshold in the path to peace," declared Reagan when Israel approved the accord.

The editors of the *New York Times* dreamed at the time that the Shultz deal "would come close to ending in a Greater

Israel. A pro-American coalition of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon would then acquiesce in the destruction of the PLO and Israel's absorption of the West Bank and Golan Heights."

'Accord danger to Syria's security'

One U.S. official was quoted then as saying, "The Syrian troops will be out of Lebanon in six months. Either they will go in an orderly manner, or they will be carried out in Red Cross ambulances."

But there was one small problem: Syria could not be bludgeoned into going along. "We have rejected the agreement in form and substance," said Syria's foreign minister. A top Syrian official explained that the accord "subjects Lebanon to Israeli and imperialist domination and constitutes a grave danger to Syria's security."

Now, less than a year later, Syria is still in Lebanon and the U.S.-backed regime there is being forced to dump the pact.

But to date Washington has nothing to replace the May 17 agreement with that would accomplish Washington's aims of guaranteeing Israel's security, getting Syria out of Lebanon, and imposing a pro-U.S. regime on Lebanon that is both stable and authoritative. It's unclear what kind of deal — if any — Gemayel will be able to reach with Damascus. Given the fluidity of the situation, Washington has decided to

put some distance publicly between itself and the Lebanon-Syria negotiations.

That public stance, however, doesn't change the reality that Washington is totally involved. This is expressed in behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing and through its military pressure on Syria and the Lebanese opposition.

General strike in Sidon

Ever since Gemayel announced on February 19 that he was thinking of breaking the May 17 pact, Israel has carried out several bombing attacks against Lebanese villages, using its standard excuse that they were really pursuing "Palestinian terrorists."

On February 23, Israeli planes bombed villages in the mountains east of Beirut. And on February 24 reports came out that Israeli troops stormed the village of Marakah. They kept the UN forces out for eight hours while they shelled the village. According to members of the Shi'ite Muslim Amal militia, three civilians were killed and 23 wounded.

On February 23, a general strike was called in southern Lebanon to protest the killing earlier in the month of a prominent Shi'ite Muslim cleric, whose death was blamed on the Israelis. According to the *New York Times*, the strike shut down most of the region.

Views on PLO debate in new 'IP'

The recent debates within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the struggle between the PLO and the Syrian government have been the focus of considerable world attention.

The March 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press* provides a valuable service in publishing a range of materials that shed light on the issues in contention and the causes of the conflict within the PLO.

In addition to an exclusive interview with Dr. Hatem Hussaini, former deputy United Nations observer for the PLO and a member of the Palestine National Congress, *Intercontinental Press* has reprinted excerpts from a number of documents, articles, and interviews that provide readers with a broad spectrum of the opinions being expressed.

A statement by the Central Committee of Fatah, the largest organization in the PLO, discusses the meaning of Yassir Arafat's controversial meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, which is also discussed in an interview with Fatah dissident Abu Khaled el-Amleh and by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

A summary of editorials from the Jerusalem Palestinian weekly *Al-Fajr* focus their fire on Jordan's King Hussein

for trying to blackmail the PLO into political concessions and trying to replace the PLO as representative of the Palestinian people in international forums.

IP also prints part of an editorial by Dr. Muhammad Hallaj, former vice-president of Bir Zeit University on the Israel-occupied West Bank, which appeared in the February *Palestine Perspectives*, and a summary of an article from the January issue of the Palestine Congress of North America's *PCNA Newsletter*.

Assessments of the disputes inside the Palestinian movement by a number of left-wing publications around the world are also included.

In addition, the March 5 *IP* contains the full text of the proposal for a provisional government issued by El Salvador's revolutionary fighters; as well as an excerpt from a speech by Workers Party of Jamaica General Secretary Trevor Munroe on the meaning of the events in Grenada; and the text of Fidel Castro's speech on the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

To order the latest issue of *IP*, send \$1.25 to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Better yet, get a subscription: \$25 for one year, or \$12.50 for six months.

AVAILABLE NOW

"Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again"

Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In this film, which was produced by the National Black United Front, Rojas describes the events that took place between Oct. 12, 1983 — when Bishop was placed under house arrest by Deputy Prime Minister Coard — and Oct. 19, 1983 — when thousands of Grenadians freed Bishop and marched to Fort Rupert, where he was killed.

Rojas explains the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution, Cuba's aid to the Grenadian people, and the developments inside the ruling party, the New Jewel Movement.

Length: 80 minutes, standard speed VHS videotape. Rental fee: \$35. Order from: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014; (212) 929-3486.

Martin Luther King brigade joins Nicaraguan cotton harvest

BY RICK CONGRESS

PUNTA NATA, Nicaragua — For the past few months there has been a battle going on in Nicaragua. A battle for the coffee and cotton harvest. The foreign exchange brought in by these two key export crops are vital for the economic progress of the revolution.

CIA-backed counterrevolutionary terrorists (called *contras* here) are trying to disrupt the harvests as part of their strategy to destroy the revolution. The drain of labor power away from the fields has been severe. Thousands of workers who normally would be helping on the coffee and cotton crop are mobilized in the frontier guard to stop the attacks from *contras* based in Honduras and Costa Rica.

According to *Barricada*, daily newspa-

per of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Nicaragua is short 12,000 workers for the coffee harvest and 11,000 for the cotton. This is in spite of the mobilization of students, city workers, and government employees to work in the fields for the harvest months.

U.S. work brigades

It was in response to this situation that the National Network in Solidarity With the People of Nicaragua organized brigades of volunteers from the United States to help the Nicaraguans bring in the coffee and cotton crops. Volunteers have also come from Europe, Canada, Mexico, and Costa Rica.

Brigades organized by the Network have

been arriving every two weeks beginning in mid-December 1983. I was part of the brigade of 130 that arrived in Managua January 15.

We were greeted at the airport by FSLN representatives. Our welcoming ceremony was covered by Sandinista television and the newspapers *Barricada*, and *El Nuevo Diario*.

After getting situated in our bunkhouses outside Managua that evening, we began to prepare for the trip to the cotton fields. The first order of business was to unanimously name ourselves the Martin Luther King Brigade.

On January 17 there was a big public meeting at the University of Central America in Managua in honor of Martin Luther King. FSLN leaders Olga Avilés and Lumberto Campbell presided over the ceremony. Speakers from the United States included Rev. Eddie Osburne from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and representatives from the U.S. Peace Council and the November 12 Coalition.

The next morning the King Brigade began the trip north from Managua to Punta Nata, which is in Chinandega Department.

Packed like sardines in two school buses we set off chanting and singing. We stopped for a welcoming ceremony and lunch at León, and then proceeded up past the city of Chinandega. The road got rockier and signs of civilization receded as we drove through thick clouds of volcanic dust which covers the Chinandega region.

After negotiating a couple of dry river beds and dealing with a flat tire on one of the buses, we pulled into the State Production Unit (UPE) where we would work. It was the dead of night. Our brigade leaders yelled out, as we pulled in, to be quiet because the workers were asleep and many of them would have to get up at 3 a.m.

As we dutifully quieted down and filed out of the buses we were greeted by hundreds of Nicaraguan student *brigadistas*

screaming at the top of their lungs "*¡Sandino vive, vive, vive y la lucha sigue, sigue, sigue!*" (Sandino lives, and the struggle continues!) and "*¡Viva los Brigadistas Internacionales!*" (Long live the International Brigade members!).

Up at 5 a.m.

We began our workdays at 5 a.m., got up, ran to the latrine, poured cold water over our heads from the communal cistern to wake up. Then we had a breakfast of rice, beans, tortillas, and coffee and formed up into squads and platoons to be ready to march out to the fields by 6 a.m.

Picking cotton itself isn't back-breaking work. But the heat and dust can take its toll. The early morning is cool. By 10 a.m. the heat gets to be too much.

We were out of the fields by 11. We spent the midday break cleaning up, trying to cool off and taking time to get acquainted with the workers at the UPE: the 325 Nicaraguan student *brigadistas* and the 300 other farm workers and their families who live on the UPE.

We formed up again at 3:30 p.m. and went out to the fields for two more hours of work.

As we worked we struggled through the thick tangle of bushes trying to pick as much cotton as we could, always on the lookout to avoid the *pica pica*, a stinging nettle that grows on a vine that is all over the cotton fields.

As we worked we also discussed and debated among ourselves questions of strategy and tactics for the solidarity movement in the United States and broader issues. Can we have a revolution in the United States like the FSLN led in Nicaragua? Is dumping Reagan enough? What about Cuba and the USSR? And on and on.

The *brigadistas* are a cross-section of the U.S. solidarity movement. Many are students or professionals. Some are church activists. A few are unionized workers — Lucy, a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Coalition of Labor Union Women in New Jersey; George, a United Auto Workers member from Philadelphia, to name a couple.

Besides the number of young people you would expect, there were many older people. Lee, a 63-year-old nurse was a leader in cotton production for our brigade.

The management of the UPE, the farm-



Militant/Rick Congress

U.S. volunteers spent time talking with Nicaraguan workers and their families. Above, children of farm workers at Punta Nata.

Reality of war brought home to U.S. brigade members

BY AUGUST NIMTZ

APASCALÍ, Nicaragua — "*¡No pasaran! ¡No pasaran!*" This is the revolutionary chant that visitors to Nicaragua are most likely to hear and remember. Literally, it means "they shall not pass." The "they" are the counterrevolutionaries — the *contras* or, as they are usually referred to around here, the *bestias* — beasts.

Based in the neighboring countries of Honduras and Costa Rica and supported by the United States, these forces have launched attacks on Nicaragua that have led to over 1,000 deaths in the last year. This aggression has also severely aggravated an already difficult economic situation.

The chant expresses the sentiment of the Nicaraguan masses: they are prepared to make whatever sacrifices necessary to defend their borders.

Here in Apascalí, this sentiment has an immediacy that those of us visiting on a U.S. work brigade quickly became aware of. Apascalí is located about 30 miles from the Honduran border and 30 miles from the El Salvador coast. A tiny community of about 300 residents, it is the site of one of the largest state farms in the country. Our U.S. brigade of about 160 people came here to help in the cotton harvest.

On the way here on February 2, we got a taste of what many Nicaraguans have been subjected to for the last year. Riding north

from the city of Chinandega in an open truck, a number of people in the brigade heard a series of explosions and saw flashes of light in the sky around 6 p.m.

About 6 a.m. the next morning other brigade members reported being awakened by loud noises. At Punta Nata, another cotton plantation about seven miles from here, members of a U.S. work brigade said that in addition to the noises they actually felt the ground tremble at the same time.

It was not until later that day that we learned we have been within 15 miles of a contra air attack the evening before. A Sandinista military facility and an Agricultural Ministry communications center were bombed. Brigade members further learned that the early-morning noises were from another contra attack on the town of Potosí, about 20 miles away. Four Nicaraguans were killed and 10 wounded in the two attacks.

While no other contra attacks occurred nearby during our two-week stay here, we have come to learn what it means for a country to be on a war footing.

The very presence of North American volunteers is testimony to the impact of the U.S.-backed aggression against Nicaragua. The plantations in the area normally have 20,000 workers here during the course of the harvest. This year, however, they will be short by over 2,000

workers. The main reason is that a large percentage of workers have been diverted to the defense effort in other parts of the country. Many others simply have stayed away, concerned about working in an area so close to the contra bases.

For the people in this region the contra threat is underlined by the very visible presence of the U.S. military. As we pick cotton, brigade members can often see ships from the U.S. 7th Fleet sailing a few miles offshore.

From Punta Nata it is possible to see at night the lights from the U.S. communications base on Tiger Island, which belongs to El Salvador. The base supposedly exists to monitor the shipment of weapons that Washington claims are being supplied by Nicaragua to the liberation forces in El Salvador. Many Sandinistas feel, however, that it is actually used to assist the *contras* in their attacks. One of the steps taken by Sandinista officials to increase the security of the community is to build more bomb shelters. The day after the nearby air attacks they asked the U.S. volunteers to help in this project, which we were only too happy to carry out.

For the local residents, North American volunteers demonstrate concretely what they have long believed. That is, the policies of the White House toward Nicaragua do not reflect the actual sentiment of the U.S. masses.



Hundreds of U.S. activists also participate with coffee brigade members in Estelí Province.



Members of Martin Luther King brigade on way to cotton fields to help bring in harvest. Defense efforts against U.S.-backed military attacks have made harvesting cotton and coffee crops more difficult for Nicaraguan people. Militant/Rick Congress

workers union (ATC), the FSLN leadership in the zone, and the Sandinista youth group, JS-19, saw to it that we had ample time to learn about the revolution and the region we were in. There also was time for socializing, singing, baseball games, and a rip to the beach.

Discussion with Nicaraguans

The material contribution we made to the economy with our work was certainly modest. But what we learned through our experience is of real value for us and for the Nicaraguan revolution. For upon our return to the United States we will be much better armed to combat the lies of the U.S. government, and even more inspired to build a U.S. movement in solidarity with Nicaragua.

In our discussions with Nicaraguan farm workers, we learned about the history of the region and enterprise where we worked.

Punta Nata is right on the Gulf of Fonseca. A walk of a few hundred yards past the cotton fields put us at water's edge. Looking across the gulf we saw El Salvador to our left and Honduras to our right. One day at sunset, leaving the fields, we saw U.S. warships on the horizon. At night we occasionally saw the lights of aircraft overhead. Workers told us that the planes were from El Salvador and Honduras.

The port city of Potosí, about 12 miles from us, was attacked by air from Honduras on January 3. Two people were killed and five others wounded.

The northern border town of Jalapa 100 miles away has been attacked several

times. The contras had planned to seize it as a "liberated zone," declare a provisional government, and get U.S. troops sent in to help them. However, the local militia and army forces defeated the contras every time.

Workers at Punta Nata told us that no contras had gotten near there; the defense forces were too strong for them. We could see from the quantity of arms in the hands of the people and the seriousness with which they performed their duties that we were well-protected from the attacks of terrorists in the pay of our own government.

How farm was nationalized

The farm at Punta Nata is state-owned, although 85 percent of the cotton production in Nicaragua is in private hands. The

Punta Nata farm used to be owned by a partnership that included Nicaraguan, Honduran, and U.S. owners.

The Nicaraguan partner was Alfonso Robelo. Robelo was a prominent capitalist who opposed former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. When Somoza was overthrown in 1979, Robelo became a member of the new government led by the FSLN. He soon began denouncing the pro-worker, profarmer policies of the FSLN.

Robelo eventually left the country and joined the CIA-contras operation. He now works with another prominent traitor to the revolution, Edén Pastora, who bases his terrorist attacks against the Nicaraguan people from Costa Rica.

The farm at Punta Nata was not nationalized when Robelo left the country.

The other partners continued to operate it. The Nicaraguan government took it over only when it became clear that the owners were allowing the farm to run down.

Longtime workers on the farm told us that the partners had let the place go to seed. They did not keep up the equipment, neglected the harvest, and owed the state a lot of money.

Some conditions on the farm have changed since the government took it over. The food subsidy has been increased for farm residents. The clinic has been improved and medical care is free. Since the revolution two big changes have been more school opportunities for children and more real power for the union. Wages have gone up some, but so has inflation.

Some workers told us about these things, while others didn't think much had changed. Some pointed to increased shortages over the last few years.

We saw here the real impact of backwardness and poverty caused by decades of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. And we saw the added obstacle of the drain on investment and labor power caused by the CIA-contras war and the U.S. economic blockade.

There has been no great leap in material wealth for the people here. The great leap has been in the confidence of the people. They endure adversities because they know that they are the government. They are the armed people. And through their union, the farm management, the FSLN, and the militias, they intend to overcome the problems facing them.

South Dakota farmer blasts U.S. attacks on Nicaragua

One of the 168 North American volunteers who came to Nicaragua at the end of January to help bring in the cotton harvest was Craig Severtson, a 31-year-old stockraiser from Flandreau, South Dakota. At home, Severtson operates a 2,000 acre spread with 500 head of cattle, and is a member of the board of directors of the South Dakota Peace and Justice Center.

In Nicaragua, he was part of the Maura Clark Volunteer Brigade, named after the U.S. nun killed by the Salvadoran army in 1980. The brigade was dispatched to the Apascalí cotton farm in northern Nicaragua, where it picked an average of 30 pounds per person per day.

In a news conference February 11 when the brigade returned to Managua, Severtson made the following remarks urging U.S. farmers to support the Nicaraguan revolution.

Since the Nicaraguan economy is based on agriculture, I speak on a personal level to the Nicaraguan *campesino* (farmer) as an American farmer.

As an American farmer I'm struggling through the hardest times since the 1930s in the United States. The pressures of growing crops, of raising cattle, and just staying in business weigh on myself and on my family every day.

Yet my problems pale in comparison to the Nicaraguan farmers, who not only face the natural elements but also must prepare for military aggression from the United States. U.S. military intervention, coupled with an economic embargo on credits, is undermining the farm economy of Nicaragua.

I, as well as the other people who have

come here from the United States, have seen countless American-made tractors — Fords and John Deeres — sitting idle, the reason being there are no spare parts for these tractors to run. The reason why is the economic embargo on credits by the United States.

On my family farm in South Dakota, when we have a tractor breakdown it takes maybe one or two hours to get parts. Here in Nicaragua, if you have a major breakdown, maybe your tractor is done for good.

Farmers around the world know that when harvest time comes everything else quits, you go to the fields, and the work gets done. The reason is that the natural elements can take away your crop in one hour, in one day, and a full year's work is down the drain.

Currently the cotton harvest and the coffee harvest are under way in Nicaragua, and they're not being done as rapidly as they should be. The Maura Clark Brigade is here because of that reason. We are trying to help the Nicaraguan campesinos to bring their crop in on time.

However, these crops that are so necessary to export and secure foreign exchange for the Nicaraguan government are not being harvested, and this undermines the Nicaraguan government.

Coffee beans will be falling to the ground. Cotton will stay in the field and won't get picked — all because U.S. military intervention causes farmers to join the militias, and the farm work does not get done.

The ominous result of all this is a slow erosion of the Nicaraguan agricultural economy. As a farmer concerned about farmers around the world, it is my belief that U.S. foreign policy is ill-conceived and destructive.



Craig Severtson

Militant/Michael Baumann

While small American farmers are being foreclosed upon, the Sandinista government is forgiving the debts of the Nicaraguan campesinos to help them stay in business. This kind of foresight indicates to me mature reasoning by the Sandinista government.

In summary, speaking for the brigade, we're all proud to announce that we've raised \$500 so far for the buying of a water pump for the Apascalí hacienda. And solidarity work is being done now so that when we go home to the United States we can help provide some spare parts for the American tractors. The reason why we do this is because we'd like to keep a responsible, progressive government in power in Nicaragua.



Militant/Michael Baumann
in Nicaraguan coffee harvest. Above,

Socialist workers discuss politics in steel union

BY VICTOR WALTERS

CHICAGO — Socialist steelworkers met here February 18 to assess the development of fightback sentiment in the ranks of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

They agreed there is a growing ferment in the union. A process of thinking and discussion is accelerating under the impact of the relentless drive by the owners of the steel corporations to raise their profits at steelworkers' expense. New evidence of this was offered by USWA activists from Baltimore, Minnesota's iron ore mines, and elsewhere.

Participants in the meeting included Chicago-area steelworkers as well as unionists in other cities responsible for organizing the activity of steelworker members of the Socialist Workers Party in the life of the USWA. They came from 11 cities including observers from Montreal and Toronto in Canada.

The meeting discussed and adopted a report presented by Geoff Mirelowitz on behalf of the SWP's national trade union steering committee that outlined how revolutionary workers can participate most effectively in the union today and encourage the development of a rank-and-file movement to change the procompany policies of the current top union officials.

In discussing this the meeting took up the evolution of the campaign for international USWA president that will culminate in the March 29 special union election. Participants also discussed how to best advance the idea that the union demand emergency action by the government to nationalize the steel industry and stop the sweeping attacks on steelworkers, their families and communities.

Employer assault deepens

Many steelworkers believed that the concession contract imposed on workers in the basic steel industry last March marked the culmination of the employers' takeback drive. Today it is clearer that the \$3 billion worth of concessions was only the beginning.

Steel production is up from the extremely depressed levels of 1982. However, average employment in the steel industry for 1983 was actually some 45,000 workers less than in 1982. One explanation is the sharp attacks on work rules, which has led to thousands of job combinations and eliminations. The companies have also stepped up their drive to contract out more work — paying to have it performed by nonunion, or lower paid, non-USWA labor.

U.S. Steel, which recently laid off over 15,000 workers permanently, has taken the lead in plant closings and attacks on union rights. Its plans to merge with National Steel make more such moves likely. Dave Salner, a member of USWA Local 6860 on Minnesota's Iron Range, reported that a major National iron ore mine may be shut for good when the merger goes through.

Joey Rothenberg, a member of USWA Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, reported that Bethlehem has been negotiating with the two USWA locals at the giant Sparrows Point complex in an attempt to impose a sweeping series of job combinations and eliminations. These demands have been voted down by members of both locals.

In an attempt to divide the union, the company is now negotiating to implement a new package of job cuts department by department. It has made it plain that whether the union agrees or not, the cuts will be made. Rothenberg reported that a February 13 meeting of Local 2609 attracted over 350 workers who held a spirited discussion about what the union should do.

Union response

As the employers continue their steady drive against the union, the need for the USWA to fight back becomes more press-

ing. However, Mirelowitz observed in his report, there is as yet no sign of any organized resistance.

The employers are increasingly unyielding in their demands. Anger and dissatisfaction with the lack of a union response is growing in the ranks. Earlier concessions supported by the USWA officials neither appeased the bosses nor saved jobs.

This pressure has created divisions in the top union leadership, reflected by the opposing candidacies of Secretary Lynn Williams and Treasurer Frank McKee in the March 29 election for the union's top spot. The same pressures led the union's international executive board to make a formal policy change and adopt a "no concessions" position at its December 1983 meeting.

But, Mirelowitz noted, "despite the power struggle brought on by the November death of former USWA Pres. Lloyd McBride, we and other workers can discern little in the way of political differences in the top officialdom."

In fact, "all signs are that the bureaucracy remains united in opposing mobilizing any of the union's power to fight the attacks." Both Williams and McKee tell unionists to help get rid of Reagan by voting for Democrat Walter Mondale, and to hope things get better. The program of Williams and McKee to solve the crisis facing working people remains one of cooperation with the employing class. Both favor a "national industrial policy," to give loans and tax breaks to big business, coupled with greater import restrictions to protect the steel barons from overseas competition.

Arizona copper strike

The consequences of this no-struggle policy is painfully clear in the copper towns of Arizona where the USWA is the chief union involved in the more than seven-month-old strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp.

"The top international union officials," Mirelowitz asserted, "are leading that strike to a bitter defeat." The combativity of rank-and-file copper workers, has kept the strike alive. However, the top union officials refuse to mobilize even the smallest show of union power to back the strikers. While they continue to dole out meager strike benefits and other limited economic aid, the union officials have virtually abandoned the strikers. No effective campaign of solidarity has ever been launched, nor is one being considered today.

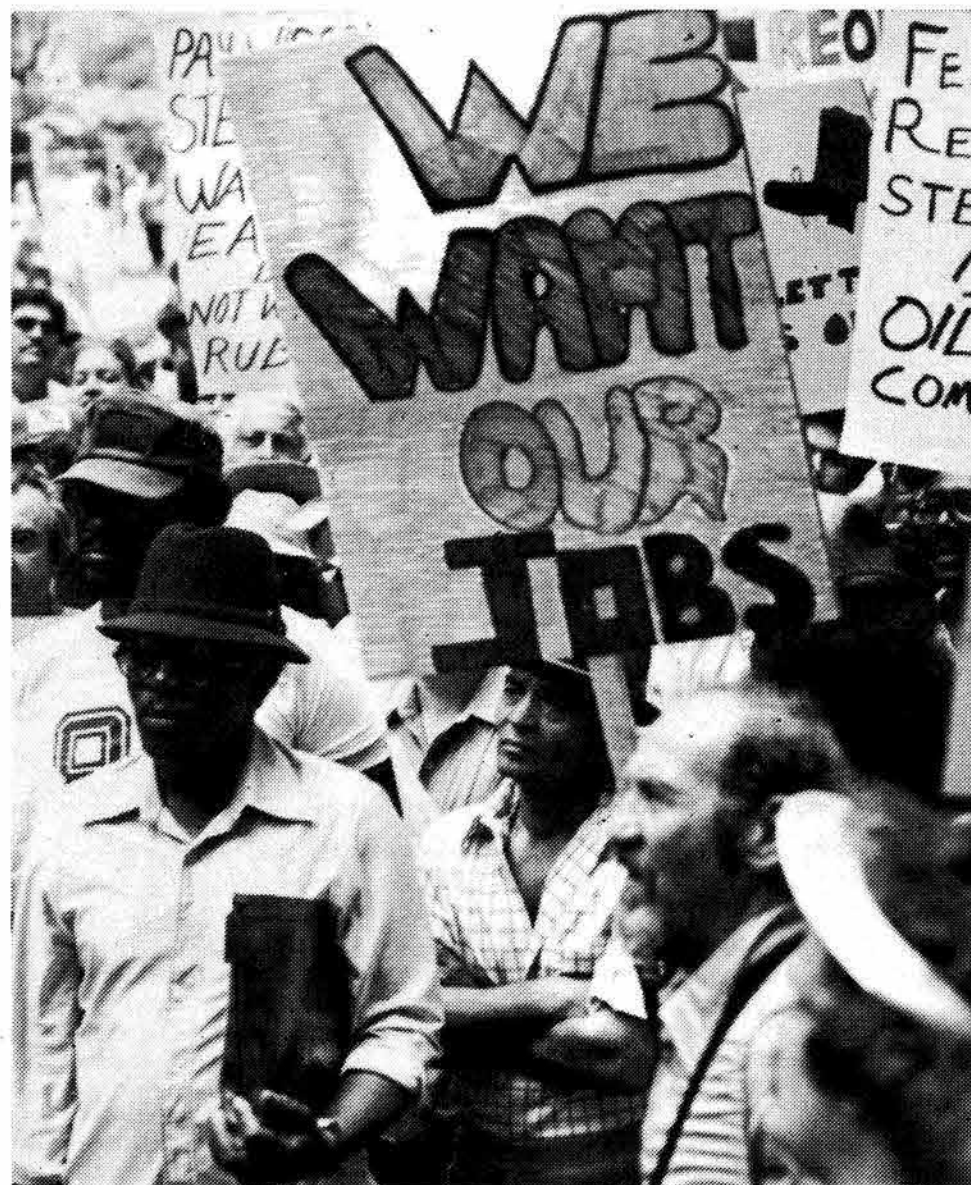
Consciousness in the ranks

The meeting made a sober assessment of the state of thinking and radicalization among rank-and-file steelworkers. Dissatisfaction and anger, while important and growing, "is not the same as thinking in class terms," Mirelowitz explained.

As is the case throughout the working class, in the USWA "we see no motion yet towards the development of a class-struggle leadership prepared to organize the necessary battle against the employers and their government," said Mirelowitz. There is no layer of workers moving consciously to revolutionary conclusions and ready, in significant numbers, to join a revolutionary organization like the SWP. Despite growing dissatisfaction based on the bad results achieved by class collaborationist policies, "the overwhelming mass of steelworkers do not yet see any alternative to the pro-capitalist policies of the officialdom."

The socialist steelworkers were by no means pessimistic about what can be accomplished by revolutionary workers in the USWA today. They recognized that the situation remains a preparatory one, in which the working class, particularly advanced workers, are drawing important lessons that will be applied in the future as class battles heat up and the level of resistance mounts.

Socialists cannot determine the pace of such events, just as on their own, radical



Militant/Jon Hillson

Steelworkers march for jobs in Chicago, 1980. Anger is growing in union ranks as employer attacks continue.

minded workers were not able to initiate the big labor struggles of the 1930s.

Part of preparing for the future is working to develop a revolutionary Marxist current in the USWA and other unions. This involves winning workers by ones and twos to a clearer understanding of the class nature of U.S. society, the role of the employers and the government at home and abroad, and the kind of fighting labor movement that is needed to defend workers rights and get rid of capitalism — the root cause of the attacks.

Political explanation

The meeting agreed that socialists' main contribution today is offering a clear explanation of what is going on and what needs to be changed. Two important tools to accomplish this, the meeting agreed, are sales of the *Militant* and the SWP national election campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president. González is beginning her nationwide tour in several key steel centers. Mason's next stop is Birmingham, site of one of U. S. Steel's biggest mills. He has recently returned from the Arizona copper towns.

Mason, González, and their supporters concentrate on the patient explanation of socialist ideas and revolutionary strategy in the labor movement. By their own action, for instance, revolutionary workers cannot reverse union policy in the copper strike. But in Arizona, and throughout the USWA, socialists can explain clearly what is driving the employers to try to bust the union, and what kind of class-struggle strategy can beat back such attacks.

The ferment in the USWA makes this job of explanation both more necessary and more possible as growing numbers of workers are searching for effective answers to the capitalist offensive and the leadership crisis in the labor movement.

At the same time there are also modest opportunities to propose activity that the union can undertake in response to attacks on the labor movement and all of the oppressed. Such proposals get a better hearing from more workers today.

Dave Salner reported that in USWA Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac mine, socialist unionists helped initiate a discussion on the U.S. Steel-National merger. They proposed that the local extend some solidarity to miners at the National mine who may be facing a shutdown. This led to an educational discussion on the floor of the local about what labor solidarity means in practice.

Last fall, Salner said, socialists encour-

aged USWA locals to support a farm-labor rally against the effects of the capitalist economic crisis which remain quite severe in Northern Minnesota. A small but important layer of workers and farmers participated and drew valuable lessons about the need for allies in the fight against the employers and government.

Special union election

In this framework the meeting evaluated the March 29 USWA presidential election. Mirelowitz's report reaffirmed that the socialists believe the USWA and other unions must be completely transformed into tools for effective class struggle against the corporations. This cannot be accomplished through any election alone, but only through genuine mobilization of the union ranks in class battles.

However, Mirelowitz said, "on the road to that goal, we and other workers will participate in many more limited struggles and efforts to change the union." When a union election comes up, socialists favor whatever steps will make the union a little bit better.

Sometimes genuinely meaningful choices are posed. In the upcoming election the top leadership has acted to significantly limit the choices. They have barred reform candidate Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397, from the March 29 ballot.

Weisen has been a consistent opponent of concessions to the companies, and the no-struggle policies of the top officialdom. He campaigned for a change in course and greater union democracy. His effort was the first attempt in several years to organize national opposition sentiment in the union.

He has been excluded from the ballot (for allegedly not obtaining the 111 local union nominations required for ballot status) because the union's "official family" leadership does not want this point of view expressed in the election. They recognize Weisen had just begun to tap the dissatisfaction in the ranks. They aim to derail that process.

Weisen is challenging the exclusion and maintains he received the needed number of nominations. Socialist steelworkers have supported Weisen's campaign and continue to do so. Until the challenge is settled, socialists, like other radical minded steelworkers, are unwilling to decide now that Frank McKee represents a lesser evil for the union today.

Participants reported little difference between the two from what they have learned as the campaign has unfolded. Although

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Marvel Scholl on rise of a union bureaucrat

The following article by Marvel Scholl first appeared in the April 14, 1972, *Militant*. Scholl — who died February 13 at age 76 — was a long-time contributor to the *Militant* on questions of the labor movement, health, the environment, and other issues.

Scholl joined the Communist League of America, predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party, in 1934. Next week's *Militant* will carry a major article on her half-century of work in the revolutionary movement.

BY MARVEL SCHOLL

The *Militant* has many new readers, many of whom have never belonged to trade unions. Therefore, it's possible that the words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucracy" applied to the organized labor movement may not have much meaning or may be confused with the government hacks who wrap everything up in yards of red tape in order to maintain the status quo.

While there are a great many similarities between the government and trade-union bureaucracies, there are almost as many differences, particularly in how each type of bureaucrat or bureaucracy got that way.

The trade-union officialdom, especially in the higher echelons, is composed of elected officers who have interpreted their own international constitutions in such a way as to practically perpetuate themselves in office — some of them for life, but most of them, in any case, long after they have outlived their usefulness. This is done by rigging the conventions where most international officers are elected or by questionable balloting procedures in referendum votes. But the men and women who make up this select coterie are not those I would like to discuss.

It is the men and women in the lower and middle echelons of the hierarchy, the business agents and organizers, that need examining. These people are charged directly with keeping the rank and file in order, riding herd on them in strike situations, and getting them out to vote for the Democratic "friends of labor."

Some of these lower-echelon union officials "got on the pie," as workers characterize getting on the union payroll, with malice aforethought — demonstrating their militancy in the plant primarily to further their own ambitions.

But many others got there by another route — being kicked upstairs in order to get them out of the hair of both management and the union hacks.

Let's take a not-so-mythical example of one militant trade unionist who was turned into a typical bureaucrat.

Joe Jones worked on the line in an auto plant, alongside his best friend, Jack. Both men's families had a close social life. Jack was a good union militant, but not an aggressive one. He looked to Joe for leadership and supported him as the section grievance-committee man (griever).

Joe worked hard attempting to settle the many beefs the rank-and-file workers had. He honestly believed in enforcing the contract to the letter.

Joe was a World War II veteran and joined the union after his discharge from the army. He came from an old-line trade-union family. Both his father and his grandfather had been part of the great strike wave of the 1930s. He had listened to many stories from them about the days when the rank and file in these new industrial unions controlled their own leadership.

As a griever he tried to do his job. In the eyes of both the company and the local union hierarchy he became a "gadfly." At one point, angered at the growing number of unsettled grievances in his file, he fought with a foreman and was fired. Word went through the plant like wildfire and all the men walked off the job. Joe got his job back.

By now both management and the union hacks knew they had to do something about Joe.

Management decided to offer him a supervisory job — an old gimmick that sometimes succeeded in making the former union militant one of the best of company men.

But the union officialdom beat the company to the punch. They had discussed Joe and decided that the best way to handle him

was to kick him upstairs, onto the union payroll.

After some hesitation, Joe accepted. He felt that in such a post he would be better able to help his own men.

He started out that way. His fellow organizers warned him that his efforts would be fruitless, but he tried anyway. He kept close contact with his former assembly-line friends, visited the job daily, tried to force definitive decisions on grievances and violations. In meetings with the management and union officials above him, he began to feel as though he were fighting two enemies.

He griped a lot and considered going back to the plant, but his much higher salary as a union hack got in the way. His family now had a new home in a much nicer neighborhood and a new car. This "better way of life" was changing Joe's whole outlook. He stopped visiting the plant every day, avoided the grievance-

committee men who swarmed over him when he did come in, and spent less and less time socializing with his best friend, Jack.

He didn't like himself much, but held onto the idea that he could still do something concrete for the workers in the plant.

Gradually, he settled into his new role, began to accept the frustrations that went with it, and became just another lower-echelon bureaucrat — a "leader" with his eye out for promotion within the hierarchy.

His former close friends watched Joe change from a fighting militant into a well-trained, tamed, and contented union hack — one they could not remove. They hadn't elected him, so they had no recourse to the unions' constitutional provisions for recall.

More and more, Joe went along with the district and local union bureaucracy and the international leadership. He had been house-trained.



Marvel Scholl
Militant/Mohammed Oliver

Supreme Court okays union-busting tool

Continued from front page

In September Continental Airlines filed for bankruptcy and fired its 12,000 workers. It immediately reopened for business as the "New Continental Airlines," with one third the number of original workers at almost 50 percent less pay. Machinists were already on strike against Continental in response to company concession demands made prior to the bankruptcy filing. They were joined on the picket lines by flight attendants and pilots following the bankruptcy scam. These workers are still on strike, but Continental is back in business.

Continental wasn't broke. It simply wanted to drive down labor costs by layoffs and wage and benefit reductions.

In December, Eastern Airlines won wage and benefits concessions worth \$360 million after threatening to use bankruptcy proceedings.

The unions' concessions to Eastern were pressed for by the company's creditors, mainly large banks. Henry Duffy, president of the Air Line Pilots Association, charged that a number of major banks were "encouraging the companies to use bankruptcy laws to revoke labor contracts."

The AFL-CIO executive council, meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, at the time of the Supreme Court decision, deplored the new ruling. One AFL-CIO spokesperson said it "obviously enhances the opportunity for union-busting."

This is certainly true. More employers will now go the Continental and Wilson route by going into bankruptcy court, but continuing to do business while slashing wages and getting rid of the unions that represent their employees.

Other companies will be encouraged to follow Eastern's example of threatening bankruptcy as a means to force unions into accepting concessions.

As dangerous as it is, the Supreme Court decision does not add something fundamentally new to the labor scene. It codifies what has already happened in the actual relations between employers and unions over the past year.

The Supreme Court felt it could get away with such a blatantly antilabor ruling because corporate giants like Continental and Wilson have already gotten away with weakening or busting their unions through the bankruptcy scam. The new ruling is an unfortunate consequence of the fact that the leadership of the labor movement did not stand up to the antiunion bankruptcy attacks when they were initiated by the employers.

The Wilson workers fought a hard strike against the wage cuts. Continental workers have been appealing for solidarity since they went on strike last fall. But these strikes were not backed up with united action by the labor movement and thus resulted in setbacks for the workers.

The AFL-CIO leadership has raised two courses of action against the bankruptcy union-busting ploy. One is to threaten to withdraw union pension funds from banks that are creditors to companies claiming bankruptcy-code relief.

The other is to lobby in Congress for laws against voiding of union contracts

through bankruptcy, similar to those covering railroad unions.

But both steps avoid the real challenge. The antilabor drive symbolized by the government union-busting of the 1981 air traffic controllers strike is continuing. The strikebreaking at Continental, and Wilson, like that aimed at the Greyhound workers last fall, are reminders of this. The Supreme Court has now encouraged more of the same.

The answer to this is that the labor

movement must begin to act on the old slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all." Labor's interests will be better served if the potential power of the unions is mobilized to defend the rights of workers wherever they come under attack from the employers — through bankruptcy schemes or other ploys. This policy — not depending on "friends of labor" in Congress — would strengthen the labor movement in the face of stepped-up blows from the employers, their courts, and the entire government.



Continental strikers picket Los Angeles airport after company used bankruptcy scam to bust unions.

Socialists discuss USWA politics

Continued from Page 12

McKee launched his effort with an appeal to the need to change the union, he has offered no meaningful alternative and has defended the union's past policies.

Moreover his campaign is more and more marked by a strident U.S. chauvinist, anti-Canadian approach that only weakens union solidarity. Canadian participants in the February 18 meeting pointed to the 1982 Chrysler strike as an example of the growing need and value of North American-wide labor solidarity.

Both McKee and Williams, they pointed out, talk out of both sides of their mouths to USWA members. In Canada, Williams tells steelworkers to vote for him because he is Canadian. In the United States he claims his nationality should not be an issue.

McKee tells U.S. workers to vote for him to oppose a Canadian running the union. But in Canada McKee urges workers to vote for him as a reform candidate. Neither McKee nor Williams wants to discuss the real issues facing the union because neither has anything new to offer about how to fight the attacks. Neither wants a fight.

Eli Green, a shipyard worker and member of USWA Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, pointed out that this attempt to limit the election to power politics of the "ins" versus the "outs," only drives workers away from participation in the

union. This is what the top officials have in mind.

The socialists agreed that even if Weisen is denied a ballot spot in this election, they will encourage his supporters and other radical workers to continue organizing for a change in union course. They noted that the union's convention is coming up in September and that the regular election for all top union offices will be held in November 1985. Between now and then opposition forces can make headway if they continue the patient work of explaining the need for a change in strategy to the union ranks.

This includes doing whatever is possible to encourage the union at the international, district, or local level to act in the way that is necessary today. This includes organizing active solidarity with any striking workers, opposing the deepening U.S. war in Central America, and standing up against attacks on Black and women's rights.

The day after the socialist-steelworkers met, a meeting of Weisen supporters was held in Pittsburgh. The gathering was small and organized on short notice. However, it agreed to continue organizing a reform movement in the USWA beyond the March 29 election. If these efforts can be broadened and taken effectively to the union ranks who are looking for answers, important progress can be made in changing the USWA.

Grenada leader hits U.S. invasion

Continued from front page

as was the role Cuba has played in helping the Grenada revolution's supporters draw the correct lessons from its defeat. The Cuban revolution, as a result, has won new adherents among Afro-American and Caribbean freedom fighters.

The meeting was chaired by Grenadian historian Joachim Mark. He introduced Dessima Williams, the former PRG representative to the Organization of American States.

International solidarity important

Williams described the worldwide condemnations that greeted both the "execution-style" murder of the NJM leaders and the U.S. invasion. Williams pointed out that more than 107 members of the United Nations condemned the invasion, as did many international organizations including the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Williams stressed that now, more than ever, international solidarity with the Grenadian people is needed to help them begin anew their decades-long struggle to rid their country of imperialist domination.

Many solidarity activities with Grenada are being organized around what would have been the fifth anniversary of the revolution — March 13. Williams urged everyone present to build and participate in these activities (see partial listing of New York events below).

She also announced that the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation would be setting up an office in New York soon to distribute educational materials about the Grenada revolution and to raise money for the foundation's work in Grenada. This work includes building a monument to Bishop, taking care of the families of those killed by the Coard group and in the U.S. invasion, and distributing educational materials to keep the spirit of the revolution alive.

Caldwell Taylor, the PRG representative to the United Nations, also spoke.

'Grenada is not for sale'

Then Radix was introduced. In the early 1970s, he was one of the founding leaders of the NJM. Radix served in many positions during the revolution, including: Ambassador to the United States; Ambassador to the United Nations; Attorney General; Minister of Legal Affairs; and Minister of Fisheries and Agro-Industries.

"In the declaration of our revolution," said Radix, "the first thing that our prime minister said was 'Grenada is not for sale.' And when we said that Grenada is not for sale, we meant that the Grenadian people were going to chart their course and to chart their destiny as they saw fit."

Radix described the gains the revolution brought to the Grenadian people, from reducing unemployment, to expanding literacy, to mass participation in developing the national budget, to the flowering of culture.

"Fundamental progress was made in the area of health," said Radix. "In conjunction and in cooperation with the government of Cuba, medical specialists of high competence in all fields of medicine came, through their internationalism, and provided extraordinary and unprecedented medical care to all the people as a right and not a privilege."

"I believe that our medical services, if you take a per capita approach, were even superior to this wealthy country here. We had free medical care and dental care. I hear you have to be insured here before you can have that. And if you're not rich enough, you might die on the streets of cold."

U.S. turns airport into military base

Radix told the true story of the airport the PRG began constructing, which Washington said was proof positive that Grenada had become a "Soviet-Cuban" military base. The airport was needed to expand Grenada's tourist trade, a vital sector of its economy. Radix pointed to the irony of the fact that it was Washington that turned the airport into a military base when its invading forces landed there and attacked the Cuban construction workers.

Radix also proudly reported that in the entire four and a half years of the revolution, not a single person had been killed by a police officer. Given that police brutality runs rampant in New York, the significance of this fact was lost on no one.

Coard grouping

The second part of Radix's talk explained the events that led to the overthrow of the PRG and the subsequent U.S. invasion.

He reviewed the origins and history of the Coard grouping within the NJM.

Over years, said Radix, Coard carried out a "cold, calculating operation convincing young people that the leadership of the party historically was petty-bourgeois right opportunist, while he alone was able to provide the leadership necessary for the fundamental transformation of society."

Radix ridiculed Coard's claim that he was the only "scientific" "Marxist-Leninist" in the NJM who could lead the revolution forward.

"The people of Grenada were not aware of these developments, though they had suspicions for a number of years that this group intended to try to seize power for themselves," observed Radix. He also referred to discussions he himself had with Bishop about the growing problem posed by Coard's activities.

Overthrow of PRG

Radix detailed the events from October 12, when Bishop was put under house arrest, to October 19, when a crowd of thousands freed him. The Coard grouping responded by sending the army to fire on



Leonor Kusor

U.S. military headquarters, surrounded by barbed wire, at Grenada Beach Club.

the people and by ordering the execution of Bishop and the other leaders. A round-the-clock, shoot-on-sight curfew was then imposed to terrorize the Grenadian masses into submission to the new government.

"Those are the facts," affirmed Radix. "And the facts are also that Bernard Coard pretended to resign the week these events took place. His minister of national mobilization, Selwyn Strachan, had gone to St. George's to get some workers to print some anti-Bishop propaganda which blamed him for the conditions of the roads... everything that was wrong was the responsibility of Bishop. But the workers refused to print it and ran him out of town."

With the Grenadian people demoralized by the gunning down of the key leaders and terrorized by the murderous repression, Radix said, it was understandable that so many welcomed the U.S. invading forces. "Even people from outer space would have been welcomed," Radix observed. But this in no way justifies the invasion, he said, nor does it mean that the Grenadian people support the moves by the U.S.-imposed government to dismantle the social programs instituted under the PRG.

Radix pointed out that none of the members of the Revolutionary Military Council (RMC), the name of Coard's new government, stood and fought against the invasion. He called them "traitors to the revolution" who deserve "revolutionary justice for their treason."

'House-cleaning'

Both in his talk, and in the question-and-answer period that followed, Radix took up the role of the CIA in the events. He said he believed Washington and Caribbean governments friendly to Washington knew about the divisions in the NJM central committee and "promoted" and "fanned the flames" of these divisions. But, he said, it was the "objective conditions within the party" that caused the collapse of the revolution.

Because of this, said Radix, the NJM is currently conducting a "house-cleaning" of the party to prepare to continue the struggle

for a free Grenada.

"We are at the moment reexamining the activities of the party members and other functionaries to investigate any vulgarities that they may have committed and to formally move to expel them from the party," said Radix.

In Grenada today, Radix said, there is an "official silence" about the revolution. Even though the authorities possess the remnants of the bodies of the six murdered leaders, they refuse to turn them over for burial. They fear that a funeral for Bishop, who Washington claims was a hated dictator, would become a testimony to the depth of support for the Bishop-led government, as thousands of Grenadians would show up to pay their last respects to this beloved leader.

Left parties in Caribbean

In response to a question from the audience, Radix explained that the Grenada events were a "catastrophe" for many left parties in the Caribbean. He said that some "fraternal parties" have taken an "unprincipled line." For example, he said, one party has blamed Cuba for the events; others said that Bishop died in a "crossfire," thus denying that he was murdered in cold blood; and others have called the Coard grouping the real "proletarian" elements.

But, said Radix, there is "great fluidity" among the left parties and it is important to work with them.

Radix said the imperialists didn't like Grenada "because we did not have just a small-island mentality. It is because we liked and conceived the idea of justice. And so we struggled with all progressive, democratic, and revolutionary countries and extended what little solidarity we had to fighters and strugglers throughout the world. That is why the Grenada revolution had to be destroyed."

Today the NJM is demanding that the U.S. occupation force be removed immediately from the soil of Grenada.

"We got rid of Gairy. We got rid of England... We can get rid of the United States as well," vowed Radix.

N.Y. events mark Grenada revolution

NEW YORK — March 13, 1984, would have marked the fifth anniversary of the workers and peasants revolution in Grenada. Supporters of the revolution and opponents of the U.S. invasion and occupation are planning a variety of events here to mark the date. These include:

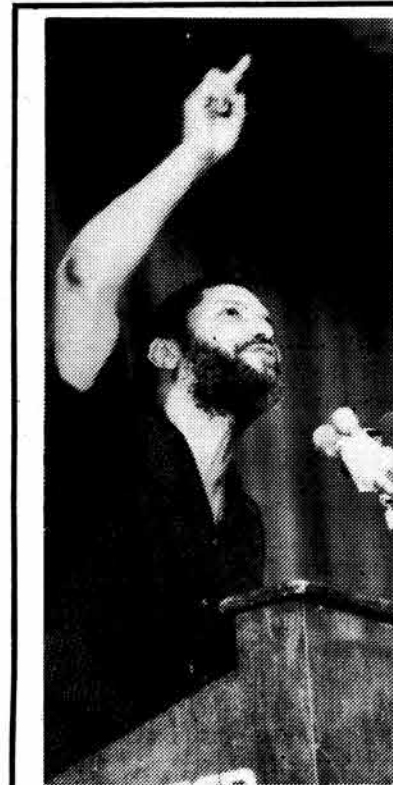
- On March 11, the Committee for a Free Grenada will hold an event from 11 am to 6 pm at Hunter College. There will be four workshops on: four and a half years of the Grenada revolution; U.S. policy toward the Caribbean and Central America; the U.S. invasion and the media; and a report from a fact-finding team. A plenary session will follow. For more information, call (212) 756-9277.

- On March 13, the Medgar Evers College Center for Women's Development will sponsor a noon showing of the Grenada videotape *Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*. A 6 pm meeting will dis-

cuss the contributions of Grenadian women to the revolution, especially those of murdered leader Jacqueline Creft. For more information call (212) 735-1903.

- On March 18, at 4 pm, the National Black United Front will sponsor a meeting at Medgar Evers College that will include an update on the situation in Grenada today. For more information call either (212) 735-1903 or 789-1056.

- On March 18, Casa de las Americas is sponsoring a panel discussion with Haywood Burns, co-chair of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Johnnetta B. Cole, executive board of U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; and Dr. Steven S. Robinson, a medical eyewitness of post-invasion Grenada. A new Cuban film on Grenada will also be shown. The meeting will be at 7 pm at 104 West 14 St. 4th fl., \$3 donation.



Maurice Bishop Speaks

A collection of more than 20 major interviews with and speeches by the slain leader of the Grenada revolution and New Jewel Movement, including his June 1983 speech in New York City.

Contents also include a major new introduction covering the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the devastating blow dealt to the Grenada revolution by the murder of Prime Minister Bishop and other outstanding leaders of the New Jewel Movement; the October 20 statement by the Cuban government on the killing of Bishop and the other leaders; and the October 25-26 and November 14 statements by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the U.S. invasion and Cuba's role in Grenada.

400 pp., \$6.95, published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for shipping.

U.S. garment workers see Nicaragua gains

Visit state-owned clothing factory

BY MINDY BRUDNO

For 19 U.S. workers here on a recent *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Inc.* tour, a visit to a giant clothing factory was a highlight. It was especially so for those of us who work in the garment industry in the United States.

Union leaders at the clothing plant were very pleased to have a group of North American workers visiting them, and they made us feel extremely welcome. Throughout the tour, we were free to take pictures and to talk to workers — including over the loudspeaker, where a member of our group explained to loud applause that, as U.S. citizens, we opposed the U.S.-backed aggression against their country.

The plant we visited is a state-owned enterprise that employs nearly 1,000 workers: 90 percent are women. Under the Somoza dictatorship, overthrown in 1979, the five buildings that now comprise the plant were separate enterprises, located in what was then a "duty-free zone" where foreign and domestic capitalists could make huge profits and pay no taxes.

In 1981, two years after the Sandinista revolution, the owners stopped production because they felt they could not maintain a high enough level of profit under the pro-labor tax and wage reforms brought about by the revolution. Under these circumstances, the government reopened the plant in order to save jobs and maintain production.

How has the revolution changed the condition of these workers? While wages have shown a modest improvement, the main gain has been in the area of the following social benefits:

- A free clinic on the premises, which includes a pediatrician for the workers' children.
 - Free transportation for most workers to and from work on special company buses.
 - Three months' fully paid maternity leave.
 - Breakfast and a hot lunch subsidized by 50 percent in the company lunchroom.
- In addition, a child-care center for workers' children is in the process of being set up.

The union at the plant, affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation, was not organized until 1979, because under the Somoza dictatorship most attempts at union organizing were brutally repressed. Since its founding, the union has been able to not only improve the conditions and benefits in the plant, but also to get rid of abusive management personnel. It continues to have input into selection of supervisors.

The union has also organized the workers to participate in the national literacy and educational campaigns. Some 20 percent of the employees are currently students in the adult education classes organized to insure that every Nicaraguan has the basic reading, writing, and math skills denied to many under the Somoza dictatorship.

Workers at the plant are extremely conscious of the war that hangs over their country. They are organized into "Revolutionary Vigilance" teams that patrol the plant at night and on weekends to guard against sabotage.

A few days before we visited the plant, for example, six warplanes had flown over Nicaraguan territory from Honduras, and carried out air raids that resulted in several Nicaraguan deaths and casualties.

The workers at the clothing plant are responding to these attacks by working harder for the defense of their country. The day after we visited the plant, several hundred workers climbed onto buses to go to the countryside for two days as volunteer coffee pickers.

The coffee harvest has been jeopardized by the military mobilization made necessary by the recent aggression against Nicaragua. Union leaders explained to us that last fall, during the U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, and following the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the whole plant worked 60-70 hours per week to prepare for an expected U.S. or Honduran invasion.

During the visit, our group enjoyed a hearty lunch in the employees' cafeteria where we talked to many of the workers

about our common problems. Many of them were interested to learn that while Nicaraguan workers are becoming more organized and improving their conditions and wages, U.S. workers are going in the opposite direction.

We explained that in the United States, the garment industry remains largely unorganized, and that low wages and sweatshop conditions are common. Immigrant workers are particularly victimized by the bosses, who use their fear of deportation to obstruct union organizing and drive down wages throughout the industry.

Everyone agreed that the visit to the clothing plant was one of the highlights of a very informative tour. To show our appreciation for the union's hospitality, we sent a letter of thanks expressing our admiration for the courage, unity, and fighting spirit of Nicaraguan workers, which made a deep impression on each and every member of our group.

We said that we intend to point to revolutionary Nicaragua as an example for North American workers, who are up against a combined attack from the bosses and their government. And finally, we expressed our determination to vigorously oppose U.S. military intervention in Central America, so the working people of Nicaragua can finally develop their country in peace.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Nicaraguan clothing factory. Unlike in United States, workers have clinic in plant, subsidized meals, free transportation.

Shoreham nuke — headed for scrap heap?

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — The Long Island Lighting Co. (LILCO) is hinting it may be ready to pull the plug on its \$4 billion Shoreham nuclear power plant.

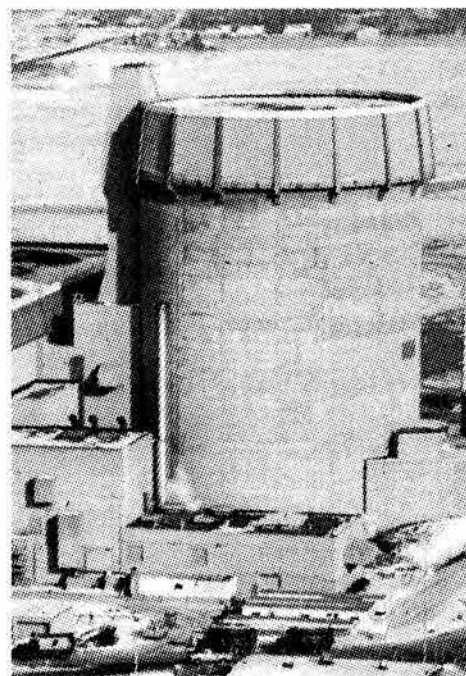
That indication came February 8, nine days after the resignation of LILCO Chairman Charles Pierce. Unless the utility's present cash woes are straightened out, said new Chairman William Catacosinos, the option of abandoning Shoreham would move to the "forefront."

This was the first time LILCO had publicly said it was considering scrapping the unfinished plant, located in Suffolk County, Long Island.

Begun in 1966, Shoreham is currently 10 years behind schedule and 15 times over budget, making it the most expensive nuke ever built. LILCO had predicted last September that the plant would come on line in early 1985, but now says it has no idea when startup will be.

Shoreham's costs, meanwhile, are increasing by 28 percent a year and turning LILCO into a financial basket case. At the moment it's \$400 million short, with interest payments on Shoreham amounting to \$1.2 million a day. Company officials say unless a bailout is forthcoming they will be broke by May.

On February 10, LILCO missed a \$1.1 million payment due as part of its partnership in an upstate nuke, Nine Mile Point 2 near Lake Ontario, thereby defaulting on the agreement.



Shoreham nuclear plant under construction. Cost: \$4 billion plus.

LILCO stock has plummeted like a stunned seagull: from 10 1/2 on February 7 to 6 3/4 a week later.

Catacosinos has even suggested the utility may have to cut dividends this year (it borrowed \$140 million to pay last year's), which to its millionaire shareholders and their allies in government would be the worst offense of all.

Still, its troubles are such that, according to the February 17 *New York Times*, "the implication of a possible LILCO bankruptcy are being studied" by Governor Mario Cuomo's office. The day after this report, Cuomo opened talks with LILCO on a proposal to use state funds to retrieve the company from the brink.

Besides the fiscal gloom at LILCO, there is also the massive opposition to Shoreham among Suffolk County residents and others. This opposition, manifested at times in sizable demonstrations, has focused on the matter of a plan to evacuate the area if the plant goes haywire.

Situated as it is on the north shore of Long Island, clearing the area around Shoreham would be quite a project. The plant fronts on the Long Island Sound, so nothing short of a flotilla could get people out that way. The main southern escape route is the Long Island Expressway, which barely handles the morning rush hour, let alone an evacuation of Suffolk County.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) ranks Shoreham among the 12 worst-sited nukes in the nation.

County officials, 68 percent of whose constituents want Shoreham to stay shut, say no plan can solve these problems, and they refuse to go along with any attempt to find one.

The NRC has ruled that, in principle, LILCO can load uranium fuel at Shoreham (prompting Deputy County Executive Frank Jones to observe, "They are not a regulatory commission, they are a pronuclear group"). But without some evacuation plan it is uncertain whether the agency will license Shoreham to operate. The attempt has thus become to force a plan on the county.

LILCO came up with a plan last year in which its personnel (wearing special baseball caps!) would perform most emergency evacuation tasks. Faced with this obvious farce, and with pressure from Long Islanders, Cuomo had to order it rejected. He then formed a commission to look into the problem. According to one member, "The commission was stacked 9 to 3 in favor of opening Shoreham."

Be that as it may, the commission's final report, released Dec. 14, 1983, was

another setback for LILCO. Evacuating Shoreham is impossible, it concluded, and Suffolk County's stance of noncooperation is "reasonable and consistent."

So, despite an unprecedented federal government offer to bypass the state and do its own evaluation of LILCO's plan, the utility remains at square one on the evacuation question.

Cuomo's commission also predicted cost overruns at Shoreham will continue. Which leads to another question: Who will pay for the thing?

If LILCO has its way, Long Islanders will, via a whopping rate increase. "Under no circumstances can we envision our absorbing anything in the way of a loss," declared company Vice-pres. Ira Freilicher last October.

The *New York Times* agreed. LILCO's losses can't be taken out on stockholders, it editorialized July 29. They "are guaranteed a fair return on investment."

Cuomo's commission estimates Shoreham will double area rates in five years, whether it opens or not. A separate study for Cuomo, by the Environmental Defense Fund, found abandoning the plant could save \$1 billion. Either way, Long Island ratepayers stand to get stiffed for some part of Shoreham's \$4 billion price tag.

How big a part is currently being decided by the state Public Service Commission (PSC). A February 10 report by its staff recommended LILCO absorb \$1.5 billion of the total due to its "serious mismanagement and inefficiency throughout the project."

Forget it, replied LILCO Chairman Catacosinos. "The company couldn't survive that kind of a hit." (Cuomo's commission says even a \$1 billion "hit" could cause LILCO to go belly up.)

Catacosinos will likely get a more sympathetic hearing from the PSC commissioners. Commission Chairman Paul Gioia has already said that if the alternative is a LILCO bankruptcy they will get their rate increase. "It's counterproductive," Gioia added, "if the financial community loses confidence."

Coming amidst a rash of nuke-related insolvencies around the country, this is the sort of reasoning big business applauds. Notes Albert Papp of Shearson/American Express, "We are hearing rumblings throughout the country of regulators concerning themselves more than ever with dividend payments."

As for Long Islanders, who will be coughing up these dividends in the form of higher utility bills, Cuomo's commission concluded, "Everyone might have been better off if the plant had never been built."

Whaddya know — Medicare cutbacks were rammed through last year with the cry that the system was going broke and in five



Harry Ring

years there would be a \$40 billion deficit. Now, on restudy, it's found that there will be a surplus in each of the next five years and by the end of fiscal '89, the system will be \$30 billion in the black.

The safety net — A telephone survey of New York's 16 food stamp stations found that a third of the callers either got constant busy signals or simply went unanswered. Of those who got through, 95 percent got incomplete or incorrect information. Many were treated rudely. Spanish-speaking applicants could get no help in eight of the 16 stations.

P.S. — The director of the food stamp centers said they were doing their best to reach those entitled to food stamp assistance. We can testify to that. A good-sized ad on food stamp eligibility appeared in the Feb. 17 *New York Times*, on p.

14 of the business and finance section.

The earthman's burden — A NASA lawyer favors spaceship commanders learning some law because, like it or not, they're going to be "the only law west of the asteroid belt." His boss thought this was maybe a hundred years premature, but added, thoughtfully, "When there are colonies, I suppose you will have laws up there."

Which page do you read? — "Boston suburb ponders report that links its water to leukemia" — Headline, p. 29, *New York Times*,

Feb. 12. "Significant progress on water pollution reported" — Headline, p. 31, same issue.

It sells — Officially classified "terrorist" incidents were down to 31 last year, as against 100 in 1977. But sales of "antiterrorist" gear are increasingly brisk. One company is doing nicely with armored cars. Its most popular model, the Caliber 44, is a rebuilt Chevy with an added 1,600 pounds of heat-treated steel and safety glass and plastic. Plus a bulletproof gas tank and door ports for firing guns. \$87,000.

Who says New York is expensive — To spur business, some

Big Apple dining spots are reducing wine prices. For instance, one restaurant columnist reports, "Quo Vadis... is offering 1959 Chateau Lafite-Rothschild, a very good year, for \$150 a bottle."

Personal hygiene dep't — Water Jet is offering a whirlpool bath that accommodates one or two people. In addition to water jets, its 16-function dashboard features stereo, telephone, facial misting, and time and temperature readouts. A water-filled headrest will massage the back of the neck and head, and there's a tray for reading material. It's called — chuckle, chuckle — the Bath-Womb. \$7,500.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Who Killed Karen Silkwood? Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Celebrate International Women's Day. Panelists on women's issues and history from Valley organizations. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 10, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Educational Conference on Socialism

1. Celebrate 25 Years of the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, recently returned from Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 9, 7:30 p.m. Educational Cultural Complex, 4343 Ocean View Blvd. Donation: \$2.

2. Classes, Seminars, Slide Show. On the working-class view of world events, capitalism and racism, the defeat of the revolution in Grenada, the advances of the Cuban revolution, and the progress made by women in Cuba. Classes will be conducted in English and Spanish. Sat., March 10, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 1053 15th St. (near City College). Donation: \$1.

3. Rally: Mel Mason for U.S. President. Featuring 1984 Socialist Workers candidates for Congress from San Diego. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 10, 7 p.m. Oneira Club, 4649 Hawley Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Francisco

The 1984 Elections: What's at Stake for Working Women. Speaker: Marilee Taylor, Socialist Workers candidate for 16th Assembly District in San Francisco, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 9, 7:30 p.m.

3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Behind the Tragedy in Grenada. Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop; presentation to follow. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

International Women's Day. A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 10, 7 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Hear the 1984 Socialist Workers Candidates: Mel Mason for U.S. President, Dave Ellis for Congress. Fri., March 16, reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Pearl's Lounge, 116 W McLean (at 2100 N Illinois). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers '84 Campaign Committee. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

United Auto Workers Faces Employers: How To Fight Back. Discussion by auto workers of GM's plan to cut jobs, McDonnell Douglas' and General Dynamics' union-busting. Unionists look for ways to transform the labor movement. Speakers: Ollie Bivins, member UAW Local 148, on strike for seven months at McDonnell Douglas; Dick Geyer, UAW Local 31 GM Fairfax, Kansas City; Janice Sams, UAW Local 1200, General Dynamics tank plant; Toby Emmerich, UAW Local 12, Jeep Unit, Toledo. Translation to Spanish. Thurs., March 8, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Lessons from International Struggles: How Women Can Win Equality. Panel to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 9; dinner (\$3 donation), 6:30 p.m.; forum (\$2 donation), 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner, Raymond, 1 block from Broad St.). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Women In Struggle: Celebration of International Women's Day. Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 10, 7:30 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Cuba: 25 Years After the Triumph of the Revolution: A Call for Reason in the Age of Reagan. A report to the African community. Speakers: Elombe Brath, Linda Asantewaa Johnson, Aramintha Grant, Samori Marksman, Bernard White, Muntu Matimela; slide presentation by Kwame Brathwaite. Sun., March 4, 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. City College North Academic Complex, 136th St. and Convent Ave., Lecture Hall 0-201. Ausp: Patrice Lumumba Coalition and Black Studies Department of CCNY. For more information call (212) 690-5344 or 690-8117.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again. Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Sat., March 10, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

International Women's Day: Together We Change Worlds. Rally and organizing fair.

Speakers: Marv Williams, Washington State Labor Council; Diane Sosne, Group Health Registered Nurses Union 1199; Ginger McMann, vice-president, Service Employees International Union 925; Peggy Homes, plaintiff in comparable work suit and Women's Committee of state AFL-CIO; Diane Hale, director, Everett Feminist Women's Health Center; Elayne Bernard, member B.C. Federation of Labor Committee and OPEIU Local 14 in British Columbia; speaker from El Salvador. Special feature: film and presentation on the NORD Door strike. Sun., March 11, 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. John Sullivan Union Hall, 5515 Airportway S. Ausp: Coalition of Labor Union Women. For more information call (206) 623-8580 or 682-6002.

The Civil Rights Commission and Attacks on Affirmative Action. Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Fri., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

"The Truth Behind the Invasion of Grenada." Videotape of interview with Don Rojas followed by panel discussion. Speakers: Rev. Lehavre Buck, pastor, Triumph the Church and Kingdom of God in Christ; Bob Clark, United Electrical Workers union's General Board and Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Akili Jabari, National Black Independent Political Party; Rev. Roy Nabors, Milwaukee alderman. Fri., March 9, 7 p.m. Incarnation Lutheran Church, 1510 W Keefe Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Black Student Union at UWM, Central America Solidarity Coalition, United Black Community Council, Sanctuary Coordinating Committee, others. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

Working Women's Struggles Then and Now. Film: *With Babies and Banners*. Speaker: Faye Shouter, former fire fighter challenging firing on basis of sex discrimination; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 10, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

What General Motors internal document reveals

Continued from Page 4

tional and Local Joint Councils for Job Security and the Competitive Edge."

This means GM wants to deepen collaboration between the company and the union. But the goal of this collaboration is to gain greater sacrifices from UAW members under the guise that by increasing GM's competitiveness and profits, benefits will eventually trickle down to the workers. In other words, what's good for GM is good for GM workers.

But experience has shown that's not how it works. The auto corporations are reporting record profits, while seeking further concessions and projecting more layoffs. It is obvious from the GM document that, for the companies, cooperation is a one-way street.

Not easy to sell to workers

Warren notes that there are a number of things besides the improving economy that "have the potential of exacerbating the union membership's militancy, the rigidity of the union's position and the [union's] unreasonableness of bargaining demands."

Among them are GM's sales and profits, bonuses to executives, and stock dividends, all of which are sharply up.

Warren comments that "many of our employees are not at all sure their sacrifices were worthwhile and really necessary.... There is a widespread perception that business is back to normal and 'GM can afford it' so why not 'Restore and More in '84'?" ("Restore and More in '84" is a common slogan in UAW locals.)

Warren treats all this as a mere public relations ("image management") exercise, as if GM workers can be led by the nose through such ploys as "profit-sharing" to understand that "the issue is not how much money GM is making but rather how much money GM needs for the business."

GM just released record figures for profits: \$3.73 billion for 1983, and even more expected in 1984.

GM is paying out \$11.84 per share to its stockholders in 1983, up almost 400 percent from 1982. Its 5,808 executives are to share a bonus pool for an average of \$31,284.44 each.

UAW members are to get \$640 to \$700 each.

These figures, and the GM document, prove that GM's concern, like that of other companies, is profits and nothing else. *No matter how much is given to them in concessions, they will always want more.*

Good time for UAW to fight

The GM document has already made a big impact on GM workers. Press accounts of it are being copied and widely circulated by workers in GM plants.

One worker at a GM plant in Arlington, Texas, near Dallas, compared the document to the *Pentagon Papers*, which exposed the aims and duplicity of the U.S. government in Vietnam: "It's what you always knew but couldn't prove."

Another worker came back from an off-plant QWL meeting, visibly upset. In the meeting, he said, a worker had held up a news account of the GM document and asked, "What does this mean about QWL? You [GM] are

getting rid of COLA, and we're getting layoffs."

Another Arlington worker commented, "It looks like we're in for a hell of a fight." That's a common sentiment, as is a stated willingness to get on with that fight.

To regain in 1984 what was given up in 1982, not to mention putting an end to forced overtime, or GM's whipsawing of UAW locals, will take a major struggle by the union.

But the auto bosses *can* be beaten, as Chrysler workers showed in 1982 when they won back some of what they'd given up to the company earlier. Chrysler said it couldn't afford a raise, but agreed to one after Canadian Chrysler workers struck for five weeks.

The GM document is a powerful weapon in the fight against the auto bosses. It should be circulated throughout the union, to mobilize the members for the struggle at GM, and Ford as well.

The document should also be circulated as widely as possible among other workers, who face companies with the same aims as GM's. Labor solidarity, as the Greyhound strike proved, can be organized. But it will take a lot of solidarity — much more than the Greyhound workers got — to humble mighty GM.

The UAW Bargaining Convention has before it a good opportunity to prepare to build the necessary solidarity both within the UAW and in other unions. With the leverage the union has through increased auto production, sales, and company profits, and with the membership's willingness to fight and the educational opportunities presented by the GM document, now is a good time to stand up to the assault on workers by the bosses and their government.

'Profit-sharing' schemes aimed at weakening UAW

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

TOLEDO — Record profits were set in 1983 by the auto corporations: \$6.15 billion, almost a billion over the previous record year, 1977.

American Motors Corp., which owns the Jeep plant here, is also doing well. In the fourth quarter of 1983,

UNION TALK

AMC made \$7.4 million. It was the corporation's first reported profitable quarter since 1980. Jubilant AMC officials are predicting earnings of \$50 million in 1984.

These profits, current and projected, are in large part the result of the concessions the auto companies have wrested from us.

Through wage cuts, especially for new hires, layoffs and forced overtime, speedup and worsened working conditions, the owners of the auto corporations have made billions.

The auto bosses, cheered on by the big-business press, try to convince us we are all part of the same "family,"

and push on us and our unions the idea that what's good for General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and AMC is good for us.

Thus, they've tried to sucker us into Quality Circles, employee suggestion plans, investment programs, and so-called profit-sharing.

Has cooperation with the companies helped us? Former United Auto Workers Pres. Douglas Fraser hasn't helped Chrysler workers by being on the company's board of directors. Rather, Fraser helped engineer the original union concessions to Chrysler, which were then demanded by other corporations.

A similar type of collaboration with the bosses is AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland's sitting on the Kissinger commission to help sell Washington's war policies in Central America and the Caribbean. Kirkland didn't represent labor's interests on the commission, but rather the interests of the employers.

Auto "profit-sharing" figures released so far show just where cooperation with the employers gets us. Ford workers will get a one-time bonus of \$440 each, while executives will average \$13,387 apiece. At GM, workers are to get about \$650, while company officials will aver-

age \$31,284 each. And that doesn't include the stockholders, who get by far the largest amount!

Here at Jeep, workers are forced to pay 90 cents an hour and most vacation and holiday pay into an Employee Investment Program, which is used to fund the company's expansion of production.

This concession was made a year ago. Many workers here feel we will never see this money. This giveback was never intended to benefit workers, but rather to get us to work harder for less, as part of the "family." Isn't this one of the biggest con games of all?

Rather than trying to make the corporations more profitable, our unions should fight for our interests, to get back the wage and work-rule concessions we've made, and then some.

Our union, the UAW, has a bargaining convention in Detroit in early March. We need to discuss there our experiences in "profit-sharing" schemes and the other takebacks, and see how we can reverse them.

Mark Friedman is a member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo and works at Jeep. He is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for State House of Representatives, District 45.

Pa. workers discuss on-job chemical poisoning

BY ANDREW WALDEN

ESSINGTON, Pa. — Each year, according to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 100,000 American workers die from occupational diseases, 200,000 die from pollutants emitted into the air, 300,000 new cases of occupational disease and 400,000 new cancers are reported. The World Health Organization estimates that 75 percent of all cancers come from environmental causes.

Unionists from throughout southeastern Pennsylvania gathered here February 4 at United Electrical Workers Local 107 hall to hear from victims of workplace chemical poisoning and to plan strategy for passage of Pennsylvania House Bill 1236, which offers some protection from hazardous chemicals.

Speakers denounced the recently proposed OSHA regulations of workplace chemical hazards. These are intended to undercut state-by-state moves toward tougher measures. They cover only manufacturing jobs, leaving over 60 million workers in agriculture, construction, mining, transportation, public sector, and service industries unprotected. They do not permit any community access to information on chemical hazards.

Under the proposed regulations, labels may contain the useless "trade name" rather than the true chemical name of a product. Although a list of 700 chemicals are supposed to be covered, companies have almost complete discretion to withhold information to protect "trade secrets." Workers have no right to refuse work under hazardous conditions. The little labeling that does occur will be done only in English.

Other speakers, including fire fighters,



UAW Solidarity — Raul Piedra Santa

chemical workers, and transit workers complained of working without protective gear, being overcome by fumes, and being unable to tell doctors what they had been exposed to. Cases of permanent brain damage, partial paralysis, and death from exposure to chemicals claimed "safe" by the employers were reported.

Mushroom workers from the Council of Workers in the Mushroom Industry reported that nine workers at New Garden Enterprises in Toughkenamon, Pennsylvania, were overcome by fumigants. Taken to Southern Chester County Medical Center, the nine had puffy faces and blurred vision. One was bleeding from the nose, others had burns on the forehead. They complained of dizziness, congested lungs, and nausea.

Factory owner Albert Toto not only

claimed that no chemicals were being used, but turned away an ambulance called for the Mexican migrant workers. The ambulance gained entry only by returning with several other ambulances. The owner later illegally refused entry to OSHA inspectors and social workers.

Unable to confirm suspicions of formaldehyde poisoning, Dr. Joseph Mullen, who treated the nine mushroom workers, said, "In treating these men... it would have been helpful to know precisely what they were exposed to."

Labor unions have joined with leaders of the Black and Latino communities, agricultural labor, environmentalists, and women's organizations to reject the pro-company OSHA proposals.

H.B. 1236, which comes up for a vote in March, requires labeling of all chemicals

whether toxic or not, in English and Spanish in all workplaces. It allows the public to obtain complete lists of chemicals in use at a given site. Workers may legally refuse work without punishment if they are not given chemical information within 72 hours of a request. Employers are required to post a list of all hazardous substances to be found in the work place. Workers are to receive yearly training in the handling of workplace toxins, and new employees are to be trained within 30 days of hiring.

Passage of H.B. 1236 will be helpful to workers exposed to toxins on the job, but the fight against these poisons is part of a broader struggle by the labor movement.

The employers will use every possible method — legal and illegal — to continue the use of these poisons. They will be allowed to claim "trade secret" exemptions for some chemicals through a state hearing process. Those who enforce the law will be the same ones responsible for the lax enforcement of existing worker-protection laws.

With the lives of workers at stake, there is no room for "trade secrets" or lax enforcement. Labor needs to reject the idea that it has common interests with the bosses.

Solidarity of all unions must be extended to those most affected by toxins on the job. Unorganized workplaces, where some of the worst poisons are used, must be organized. Labor unions must come to the defense of agricultural labor, which suffers heavily from pesticide poisoning.

The trade unions also need to build an independent labor party that can challenge those who allow these conditions to exist — the employers and their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

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Imperialist hands off Iran!

Washington and its imperialist allies — particularly Britain, Israel, and France — are escalating their military provocations against Iran.

On February 26, the U.S. guided-missile destroyer *Lawrence* shot at an Iranian plane and threatened an Iranian frigate near the Strait of Hormuz, gateway to the Persian Gulf. Washington has a war fleet of 15 ships, including the aircraft carrier *Midway*, in the Arabian Sea to the south of Iran, as well as four warships in the Persian Gulf.

This menacing armada is there — we are told — to protect "our oil" from the "terrorist threats" of Iran.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has suggested that "it might be in Britain's interests to join with U.S. forces to protect . . . the oil supplies which are so vital to the West."

Israeli officials have also expressed concern at the supposed threat from Iran.

But who are the real "terrorists" in the region, and whose oil are the imperialists talking about?

In 1979 a revolution in Iran, spearheaded by an oil workers' strike, overthrew the shah who had been installed in power by Washington. The U.S. oil companies and their counterparts in other imperialist countries lost their ability to freely plunder Iran's rich oil reserves. The imperialists have never forgotten this, and have sought

ever since to find ways to restore their domination of Iran.

The Iraqi government of Pres. Saddam Hussein — armed by France — launched a war against Iran in 1980. For three and a half years, Iranians have been the victims of indiscriminate bombing by Iraqi forces that invaded their country. Unable to bring down the Iranian government and overturn the revolution, the Iraqi regime has stepped up its war, now threatening to destroy Iran's oil-export facility at Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf. The Iranian government has responded that it would close the gulf in self-defense if this happened.

Several hundred thousand Iranian soldiers and volunteers have also mobilized at Iraq's border in an attempt to expel the invading Iraqi troops once and for all and end the war imposed on Iran.

The imperialists fear that Iran may score some victories in this latest offensive. If Iraq were to finally be defeated, it would be a big blow to the imperialists' campaign, carried out ever since the 1979 Iranian revolution, to isolate Iran politically, drain it economically, and weaken it militarily.

U.S. workers have no interest in the imperialists' war moves against Iran. The U.S. oil barons are our enemies as well as the enemies of the Iranian people. Our demand must be: hands off the Iranian revolution!

U.S. motives in Grenada trial

On February 22 the government established by the U.S. occupying army in Grenada brought 18 former political and military figures into court in St. George's. The 18 are charged with responsibility for the murder of former Prime Minister and New Jewel Movement (NJM) leader Maurice Bishop, and the other NJM leaders who were gunned down October 19 as part of the coup against the workers and farmers government Bishop headed.

The charges carry the death penalty. Those charged include former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, former army commander Gen. Hudson Austin, Phyllis Coard, Leon Cornwall, Maj. Christopher Stroude, Capt. Lester Redhead, and Lt. Iman Abdullah.

The U.S. government and its appointed servants in St. George's claim that democracy is being "restored" in Grenada. They have attempted to portray their detention of the Coard gang and the upcoming trial as part of that process. Justice will now be served, they say.

Coard and his supporters, who betrayed the Grenada revolution and opened the door to the U.S. invasion, should be brought to justice. They are widely hated by the people of Grenada, and justly so.

But this trial will not accomplish that end. The Coard gang is being tried by a kangaroo court set up by a puppet regime controlled by Washington. That same puppet regime is moving as rapidly as it can to take back all the gains of the Grenada revolution — free education, health care, union rights, and women's rights.

The Dec. 9, 1983, *Chicago Tribune* carried a report by correspondent George de Lama from Grenada that spells out how Washington and its puppets intend to use this trial. "An era of Grenadian history will go on trial with them United States officials here say," de Lama reported.

"If as expected, Coard and Austin are charged with murder," wrote de Lama, "then in this homicide the victim will stand accused as well."

A U.S. official explained: "When this trial is over, Maurice Bishop will be no martyr, I can assure you of that."

A senior U.S. official told de Lama: "It's going to be a

trial of the guys who killed Bishop, but also a trial of the New Jewel Movement — its total failure, the entire Cuban role here for four years. . . . When the Grenadian people see what these guys really did here, they'll be finished."

"U.S. officials admit," said de Lama, that "discrediting Marxism is one of the aims of the coming political trial."

Legally, Coard, Austin, and their treacherous gang will be on trial. But politically the defendants will be the New Jewel Movement, its revolutionary Marxist ideas, Cuba's revolutionary government which aided Grenada, and Maurice Bishop and the other slain NJM leaders themselves.

The prosecutors of the Coard gang care nothing about the actual crime that they will be trying. Washington and its puppets shed no tears over Bishop's murder. They seized on his death as an opening for an invasion that had long been planned.

Their aim in this trial is to deepen the lie they have been spreading since the workers and farmers government was overthrown on October 12 when Bishop was placed under house arrest: that the Coard gang equals the Grenada revolution and its leadership. That their methods are the methods of Marxism. That this is the inevitable result of socialist revolution.

Another dangerous purpose of the trial is to prepare the way for further prosecutions and victimizations of the real revolutionary Marxist leaders of the NJM who are still alive. "They are trying to scare us and discredit us," NJM leader George Louison told de Lama.

From the beginning Coard and his supporters have been denied any civil liberties or democratic rights. Earlier Coard and Austin were paraded through the streets blindfolded, manacled, and virtually naked.

This is aimed at establishing the precedent of denial of civil liberties for use against others. If the puppet regime can get away with this it may not be long before NJM leaders, union leaders, and others receive the same treatment.

Behind charges against Jackson

Charges of "Black anti-Semitism" — currently being flung at Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primaries — have a long history.

The Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X was often falsely accused of hating Jews. Black leaders in New York City opposed a racist strike led in 1968 by teachers union chief Albert Shanker against the Black community's right to control its own education. They were smeared as anti-Semitic.

In 1979, Jesse Jackson and leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference made trips to the Mideast and met with Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat. They were all accused of anti-Semitism.

Even Andrew Young, when he served as UN ambassador in the Carter administration, was subject to these charges when he held an "unauthorized" meeting with a Palestine Liberation Organization official. Young resigned under pressure over the incident.

More recently Jackson again came under fire because the PUSH Foundation, a group associated with him, received completely legitimate financial donations from the Arab League, a confederation of 21 Arab governments.

The anti-Semitic label has been pinned on Jackson from the day he announced his campaign for the Demo-

cratic presidential nomination. Jackson has been hounded and harassed by right-wing thugs who invade his campaign meetings calling themselves "Jews Against Jackson." These hoodlums are an outgrowth of the racist Jewish Defense League.

This campaign to label Jackson anti-Jewish was accelerated when he used anti-Semitic language in referring to Jews and New York City as "Hymies" and "Hymietown." This was wrong. Jackson has since apologized.

However, those who were quick to accuse Jackson of anti-Semitism have not been so quick to oppose the harassment of his campaign by the JDL thugs or the smear campaign against Operation PUSH.

Those in ruling-class circles who condemned Jackson really believe that Blacks have no business running for U.S. president or offering opinions about U.S. foreign policy in the Mideast or elsewhere.

The hypocrisy of many of these "opponents" of anti-Semitism should not go unnoticed.

In ruling-class circles and among Democratic and Republican politicians speaking in private, anti-Semitic, racist, and sexist language is routine and commonplace. Just as routine is their charge of "anti-Semitism" whenever they want to discredit the Black movement.

1954 'Militant' on Puerto Rican freedom struggle

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The U.S. ruling class today is carrying out an illegal campaign of intimidation, repression, and jailings against supporters of the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico — Washington's colony in the Caribbean.

The Puerto Rican people have a long and proud history of struggle, just as the U.S. imperialists have a long and shameful history of trying to stamp out that struggle.

In 1950 there was an armed uprising on the island, led by the pro-independence Nationalist Party, which was brutally crushed by the police.

Nationalists living here responded by attacking symbols of U.S. imperialism's power. One nationalist was killed and one injured in a shoot-out with guards at Blair

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

House in Washington, where Pres. Harry Truman was living at the time. A similar armed protest took place on March 1, 1954, in the chamber of the House of Representatives.

Of the five patriots imprisoned for these incidents — Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Rafael Cancel Miranda — four were kept in U.S. prisons for more than 25 years, making them the longest-held political prisoners in the entire Western Hemisphere.

The fifth, Cordero, was released in 1977, when he was already dying of cancer. The other four heroes of the Puerto Rican people were released by Pres. James Carter on Sept. 6, 1979, in a concession to world public opinion.

The March 22, 1954, *Militant* ran an article titled "Puerto Rico — Wall Street's colonial hell-hole" by Joseph Keller.

"The shots that rang out in the House of Representatives on March 1, wounding five congressmen, reminded the world once more that Wall Street imperialism rules one of the most impoverished and exploited colonies in the world," Keller began.

Keller cited a *New York Times* article which mentioned the "poor housing, inadequate education, unemployment, insecurity" in Puerto Rico.

"These vile conditions," said Keller "according to [the *Times*] account, are 'one result of overpopulation' and the fact that 'much of the island is lacking in fertility and broken up by mountains.' But these arguments are 'demolished by the *Times* itself in one sentence: 'What arable land exists is given over to cash crops — sugar cane and tobacco.'"

"In short, Puerto Rico's plentifully fertile soil was long ago grabbed up by U.S. sugar and tobacco interests protected by U.S. guns. The Puerto Ricans slave on these 'cash crop' plantations for abysmal wages," wrote Keller.

"We frequently hear the Puerto Ricans spoken of as 'citizens of the United States like us.' This is false. Puerto Ricans, as individuals and as a nation, have no rights except as granted arbitrarily by a foreign government. They do not even have the 'second-class citizenship' of the Negroes in America, who are recognized as 'equal' under federal law, although denied equality by a system of illegal terrorism, discrimination, and unconstitutional segregation laws in local communities and states.

"Puerto Ricans are permitted a limited measure of local self-government, where this does not involve U.S. financial, diplomatic, and military interests, and subject to veto and nullification by the U.S. Congress and courts. But the foreign government in Washington controls completely all matters of foreign affairs. It regulates exports and imports. It maintains troops and military bases in Puerto Rico and conscripts Puerto Ricans into the U.S. armed forces.

"Some 36,000 Puerto Rican youth were drafted into the U.S. Army during the Korean War. They suffered 3,500 casualties, a far higher rate than for troops from the United States itself. Those who represent the Puerto Ricans as eager to 'fight and die for Uncle Sam' need to explain why there have been 100,000 violators in Puerto Rico of the draft law passed by Congress in 1948. It is admitted that 28.5 percent of those eligible have refused to register for conscription. And only a dozen or so have been brought to trial."

The response of the ruling rich in the United States to the shootings in Congress was described by Keller as a "campaign of mass terrorism against Puerto Ricans both in the island and in this country. Hundreds have been picked up by the FBI and police agents, brutally third-degreed, and thrown into jail. An effort has been made to link the Nationalist Party to the Communist Party and to incite a lynch spirit against all 'reds.'"

While Washington did deal a blow to the struggle, the fight for independence by the Puerto Rican people and their supporters continues today.

Lane Kirkland stands Mideast reality on its head

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The AFL-CIO Executive Council spent a week in the sun at Bal Harbour, Florida, in mid-February pontificating on the problems facing working people. This quarterly shindig of labor "statesmen" rendered its opinion on the issues of the day in numerous statements on U.S. policy at home and abroad.

As is often the case, among the worst of these pronouncements were those dealing with aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Take AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland's views on Lebanon.

Kirkland told the press he was extremely troubled by U.S. policy in the Mideast. Many U.S. workers are also

AS I SEE IT

"troubled" by the U.S. war there. Many want the marines brought home and the brutal bombardment of Lebanon stopped so the Lebanese people can settle their own affairs without Washington's interference.

But that's not Kirkland's view. "The key to progress in the Middle East," he offered, "is . . . a full and frank recognition that we have one dependable ally in the Middle East and that is the State of Israel. And," he continued, "we ought to do nothing to weaken or undermine the position of that democracy."

Mideast problems, opined Kirkland, are "in no case the fault of Israel or the result of Israel's presence."

This stands reality on its head. It was Israel that invaded Lebanon with thousands of troops in June 1982 in a fundamental violation of the rights of the Lebanese people. It is Israel, together with the U.S. government, that has reinforced the right-wing regime of Amin Gemayel and continues to attempt to impose it on the Lebanese.

Nor is this role something new. When the Israeli state was established in 1948, with Washington's support, it

expelled 700,000 Palestinians from their homeland.

In 1956 Israel joined with Britain and France in an invasion of Egypt, which had asserted its rightful control of the Suez Canal.

In 1967, the Israeli government launched yet another war against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan and grabbed big chunks of territory, some of which it continues to occupy today.

Kirkland chooses to have a short memory. U.S. workers however, will remember that the Israeli government's racist hatred for the Palestinian and Arab peoples was revealed once again in September 1982 when the terrible massacre of Palestinians took place in refugee camps in Lebanon under the eye of the occupying Israeli forces.

This brought about an outcry around the world and spurred protests inside Israel itself. Within that country many working people have a view very different from Kirkland's about Israeli "democracy."

To begin with, there is little democracy for Palestinians living in Israel where they face systematic economic and social discrimination and victimization at the hands of the cops and security forces.

Jewish workers too have begun to protest more frequently against inflation, unemployment, and government policies. On February 4 tens of thousands of people marched in Jerusalem to demand that Israeli troops be brought home from Lebanon.

But all of this is of no matter to Kirkland. From his point of view, Israel with its brutal expansionist policies, is the only reliable ally in the Mideast. The question is the ally of whom? What interests does Israel strive to protect?

The Israeli government is no friend of U.S. working people. It is an ally of the U.S. government and big business interests, particularly the giant oil companies, which increasingly need a policeman in the Mideast to help safeguard their interests.

In Lebanon and elsewhere in the Mideast, Palestinians

and other peoples who have been oppressed by the U.S. government, the giant corporations, and local governments they support, are struggling for freedom and self-determination. This struggle in no way threatens the interests of U.S. workers who, in fact, have some of the same enemies.

But Kirkland does not favor a foreign policy that is in the interests of working people in the United States — or anywhere else. He favors the anti-communist, pro-big business policy of the Reagan administration and Congress. That is why he makes such statements, is willing to serve on the Kissinger Central America war commission, etc.

Tom Kahn, an AFL-CIO "foreign policy specialist" was asked to amplify the meaning of Kirkland's statement. Did the AFL-CIO favor withdrawal of the marines from Beirut? one reporter wanted to know.

"We're not in principle opposed to the deployment of U.S. forces around the world," answered Kahn.

Did the federation oppose sending the U.S. Marines to Lebanon 18 months ago? asked another reporter.

No, said Kahn, it did not.

That's more proof of the problem. The AFL-CIO leadership favors deployment of U.S. troops because it supports the use of these troops as world cop for the profit and political interests of big business and its government. It supports Israel because it recognizes that government's willingness to help play this role.

Rather than opposing further Vietnam-style wars abroad — as many U.S. workers do — Kirkland believes such wars necessary.

But, as on many issues, Kirkland and the other AFL-CIO chiefs vacationing in Bal Harbour are out of touch with the ranks of the U.S. labor movement. U.S. workers are drawing their own conclusions about the events in Lebanon and Israel's role. And more and more would agree that the Israeli government may be Washington's ally — but it isn't ours.

LETTERS

Nicaragua brigades

It's quite an experience being part of the Maura Clark Brigade picking cotton with 150 other North Americans in Nicaragua.

The 100-mile trip northwest from the capital city of Managua to this state farm on the Gulf of Fonseca was an all-day affair, accomplished in a combination of buses and cattle trucks.

While traveling on February 2 some *brigadistas* saw flashes in the distance. These turned out to be the bombings by six Honduran planes which killed four Sandinista soldiers, wounded 10, and destroyed a civilian communications center. Manzanillo, where the bombings took place, is roughly 20 miles south of the hacienda.

Our brigade was asked if anyone wanted to go home. No one did. Instead, we responded with a press statement condemning the Washington-directed attack. We are also digging a bomb shelter at the request of the 270 Nicaraguan and Honduran workers who live here.

Picking cotton is easier than I expected, aside from the dust and heat. Of course, our pace is more leisurely than the Nicaraguans'. They pick an average of 150 lbs. per day. Our average is perhaps 30.

What is difficult are the living conditions. As an ATC (Association of Agricultural Workers) leader told us, "The conditions here are what capitalism has left and they are subhuman, as you see."

The children, who are beautiful and curious and inventive, are mostly barefoot and infected with parasites. Pigs (skinny), chickens, ducks, a big tom turkey, and hordes of dogs wander freely. Water must be trucked in. Flies settle all over the corn women pound into tortillas. Food is plentiful, but is an unvarying diet of *frijoles* [beans], rice, and tortillas three times a day. Tiny mice share our wooden bunks.

Since this hacienda passed into the jurisdiction of the state last May, the food people eat has increased 90 percent. Salaries for both the women who cook and the

field workers are continuing to increase. A doctor visits once a week.

The previous owner was Alfonso Robelo who now is a leader of the counterrevolutionaries. He systematically decapitalized the farm, and seasonal workers were turned out once the cotton harvest was over. Now they have permanent homes with free rent, water, and medical care. The union oversees occupational safety, controlling exposure to pesticides. Building a new dining hall and child-care center are priorities for the union.

The secretary-general of the regional ATC told us that its goal is to educate workers so they can take control of the farms.

The people who live here are extremely friendly. Impromptu meetings between *campesinos* and brigade members are common. At night there is dancing to U.S. rock music, singing along with some Sandinistas who have a guitar and trumpet, and political presentations by Sandinista National Liberation Front and ATC leaders.

The Maura Clark Brigade is a diverse group. Its members range in age from two 17-year-old high school women to a real trooper who will be celebrating her 70th birthday next week in the cotton fields here. Happily, a number of doctors and nurses are in the brigade. There's a farmer from Vermont, 10 City University of New York law students, a nun of the Dominican order, teachers, garment workers like myself, carpenters, lawyers, and a bank clerk.

Political views are equally diverse. The cotton fields abound with discussions about U.S. presidential candidates, Cuba, and the potential for revolution in the United States.

The people and the government of Nicaragua are going to great lengths to make us feel welcome in Nicaragua.

Over and over we are asked to bring back to the people of the United States the message that Nicaraguans want peace — and, as ATC representatives said, "We have suffered the bombings of Somoza. We have lost 50,000

people. We are not ready to hand over our revolution. We are ready to defend it with every drop of our blood."

Susan Anmuth
Hacienda Apascal
Manzanillo, Nicaragua

Death Penalty

Reading your article of Dec. 30, 1983, concerning the death penalty — and realizing my situation of just receiving the death penalty myself — I feel that the Socialist Workers Party stands for and upholds the truth, reality, and logic concerning the situation in the world at present and in the past. I know also that the efforts of the revolutions for liberation of the oppressed around the world will succeed.

My situation is not uncommon. I'm an Afro-American who comes from a deteriorated environment. Against all odds I graduated from high school and went to college. While in college I learned to see the present American system as it is. I came in contact with many students, most of whom were international. They described situations of their own concerning the oppressive behavior of governments liked and backed by America.

I learned of various leaders such as Marx, Lenin, Castro — how they risked their lives for the liberation of millions.

I guess from such extreme concentration on all these matters, including my studies, I acquired a condition of mental and nervous breakdown. Finally in 1976 this condition reached its climax point, I had a major breakdown and committed very serious acts. I was apprehended, put into jail, and was found incompetent by a psychiatrist and sent to the mental hospital until now.

During this time I subscribed to the *Militant*. I was warned and harassed by the officials of the hospital to stop receiving it. They suggested that such material would only get me into further trouble. On many occasions they would keep and read the papers, sometimes for days, before they



Chicago Sun-Times/Bill Mauldin
"Under Washington's new guidelines we've bagged our week's limit."

would give them to me. Some I wouldn't receive at all.

Finally after eight years in the mental hospital I was sent back to court. One judge, Thomas Scott, a so-called hanging judge, said I had been manipulating the system by malingering and that he would personally avenge such behavior.

From reading the *Militant* I read of many such cases as mine. I'm not a celebrity or a well-known activist.

I've read of cases of injustice and oppression and how you express the unjust treatment of those unfortunates. I know also that I'm unfortunate and I need for people to know of the grave injustice operated on me.

A prisoner
Florida

Black history

I'm writing this letter in contribution to Black History Month. It is paramount that our people be made aware of the truth. When people talk of Black history the first thing they think about is the badges of slavery. But the history of Afrikan people goes back further than 1619 when our ancestors were first brought to this country as indentured servants and then slaves.

In spite of the Emancipation Proclamation, people of Afrikan descent are still not totally free.

Afrikan people have been treated wrongly and indifferently. We have been deceived and lied to long enough.

Wake up O mighty beautiful Black people, the time is now; not just for this Black History Month, but for all times henceforth to know the pure, uncut truth.

While speaking at the historic Civil Rights March on Washington II, and in keeping Dr. King's dream alive, Rev. Jesse Jackson resounded: "Turn to each other. Our day has come. March on! Don't let them break your spirit. We will rise, never to fall again! From the slave ship to the championship! From the outhouse to the courthouse to the White House! We will march on! Our time has come!"

A prisoner
Indiana

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Baltimore Black party congress discusses unions, war, elections

BY BAXTER SMITH

BALTIMORE — "The Fight for Black Rights: What Road Forward?" was the theme of a two-day public congress hosted by the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) February 24-26.

The congress was attended by more than 50 people and heard speakers on the labor movement, Blacks and the 1984 elections, and the fight against U.S. wars abroad.

Central America

A panel on "International Solidarity and the Fight Against U.S. War" focused on U.S. aggression in Central America.

Wyman Hooker, first secretary in the Nicaraguan embassy, said that the Reagan administration "wants to create another Vietnam" in Central America.

Hooker and speaker Alberto Arene, of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador, described U.S. efforts to thwart the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions.

"Military injustice and poverty have been the rule" in El Salvador, Arene said. He pointed out how the Salvadoran regime is losing the war.

"We are not only fighting the Salvadoran army, but more and more the United States," he declared. "And we are preparing ourselves to fight the U.S. Army when it comes."

In fact, he said, "the more [the Salvadoran] regime is going to the cemetery, the more the United States intervenes."

Arene exposed the high cost of the U.S. war in Central America. Just as in Vietnam, he said, "it will be the Hispanics and the Blacks and the oppressed people who will be sent down there. And brothers and sisters should not fight each other."

Arene drew approval when he said who was to blame for U.S. aggression. "It is not only the administration," he said, "but the Congress. It is not only conservatives, but liberals. It is not only Republicans, but Democrats."

Lies about Nicaragua

In his remarks, Hooker refuted many of the lies against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, including its alleged persecution of Miskito Indians and church figures. He cut down the lie that there is no press freedom in Nicaragua, and he pointed to the unity that has arisen among Nicaragua's workers, farmers, and students.

Both Hooker and Arene invited the local NBIPP to join them for further discussions to explore areas where they could support each other's struggles.

Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo, of the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., chapter of the African National Congress (ANC), was another speaker on the panel. The ANC has recently formed a chapter in the area and representatives of it have been speaking at meetings to generate public awareness of the situation in South Africa.

Mahlangu-Ngcobo described the triple oppression Black women face in South Africa as women, workers, and Blacks. She said many women become ANC militants because of the conditions they face. "Women have a long history in the fight against apartheid."

Alliance with labor

One highlight of the congress was the session on "Organized Labor and the Black Movement: Forging an Alliance."

This panel, which heard from four union activists, helped NBIPP members ap-

preciate the importance of the labor movement.

Brother Tshombe, a local NBIPP leader and member of the Glass and Bottle Blowers union, traced the history of discrimination against Blacks in the labor movement.

NBIPP member Reba Williams, of the International Association of Machinists Local 1561, described workers' efforts to fight off concession contracts. She pointed to the hypocrisy of giant corporations like U.S. Steel laying off thousands of workers while maneuvering to buy up other companies. She explained the need to transform the unions and make them into instruments of struggle.

NBIPP member Kwasi Nkrumah, of Steelworkers Local 14601, pointed to the need to support the struggles of Black workers. "The Black liberation movement has to get a better understanding of the importance of Black labor to Black liberation."

Ron Hollie, president of the Baltimore local of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199E, described the conditions that hospital workers face and the key role that Blacks have played in helping change them. He said his local had discussed running candidates for public office. He said he favors a labor party and he applauded the role that socialists and radicals played in the founding of several industrial unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

He expressed opposition to the campaign of Jesse Jackson for the Democratic presidential nomination and opposition to the anti-imports campaign fostered by the labor bureaucracy.

"The only organization that has a mandate to bring everyone together is a labor union and we have to take advantage of that," he said.

Many of Hollie's remarks struck home for the audience.

Another session at the congress addressed local issues such as police brutality, education, and workfare. The meeting also elected new local officers and adopted resolutions on party work for the next period.

The session on Blacks and the 1984 elections included a panel featuring Ken Morgan, who was elected NBIPP chapter co-chairperson during the congress; Sandy



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Greyhound strike last fall. A highlight of Black party congress was a session on "Organized Labor and the Black Movement: Forging an Alliance." Several trade union activists spoke.

Stewart, an organizer of the unsuccessful 1983 mayoral bid of Black Democrat Billy Murphy; and Kabili Tayari, national presiding officer of NBIPP.

Blacks and Jackson

Morgan and Tayari argued that Jesse Jackson's campaign does not represent progress for Blacks. Stewart, who is active in Jackson's campaign, put forward the view that Jackson is the only candidate articulating the concerns of Blacks and deserves their support.

Morgan and Tayari, while opposing Jackson's hustling votes for the Democratic Party, condemned the racist attacks directed against him. Jackson's inability to change some of the rules of the Democratic convention's delegate selection process

"exposes the racism of the Democratic Party," said Tayari.

Most people in the audience seemed to support Jackson's campaign. A rich question-and-answer period followed, taking up such issues as whether it is possible for Blacks to redirect the Democratic Party to meet their needs; the character of the support Jackson is receiving; and what Black candidates can achieve through their campaigns.

The congress as a whole set a good example of the kind of discussion that can advance the work of local chapters of NBIPP, as well as national NBIPP. On March 2-4, the NBIPP Central Committee will hold a national meeting near Raleigh, North Carolina, where this discussion will continue.

Detroit forum debates Jackson campaign

BY SAM FARLEY

DETROIT — "The Ballot or the Bullet" was the title of a February 19 forum sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). Sixty people attended.

The forum — held to commemorate Malcolm X — also coincided with the launching of the first edition of NBIPP's local monthly newspaper, *The Black Party Line*.

The speakers included: Chokwe Lumumba, Provisional Governor of the Republic of New Africa; Jemadari Kamara, a national NBIPP leader; Andrew Pulley, Detroit NBIPP; and a representative of the Black Slate, part of the Shrine of the Black Madonna. The event was chaired by Bokeba Enjuente, who outlined NBIPP's opposition to the capitalist system in this country and the need to break from the Republican and Democratic parties.

Lumumba pointed out that Malcolm X taught that the Democratic and Republican parties were two sides of the same coin and that the liberation of Blacks could not be obtained through either. Lumumba said there must ultimately be a revolution in the

United States in order for Blacks to be liberated.

Kamara said that Blacks must first organize and unite within their own communities and neighborhoods. He said that "one of the biggest struggles we face is finding and coming to grips with our true cultural self as opposed to the way we are forced to act." He suggested that the Jesse Jackson campaign can mobilize more people than all the organizations at the forum combined, and people needed to face up to and deal with that fact.

Pulley disagreed. He said that the only way forward for the masses of Black people is a total break from the Republican and Democratic parties, because neither serves the interests of Blacks. "We must form and build our own mass independent Black party to assure that those who purport to represent us will be beholden to us. We must run our own candidates, and control our own organizations."

"The only way to relieve our misery and suffering," said Pulley, "is to change the social, economic, and political order. To accomplish this task, we must bring about

a revolution in alliance with the rest of the working class."

Lumumba commented on the discussion about running a Black for president. "This may be — from the standpoint of being one of the steps toward our liberation — a strategic thing to do," he said. But, he asked, "is Jackson the person? Black people can't vote for a person who may have a progressive stance today and then change tomorrow," he declared.

Take for example, he said, Jackson's trip to Syria which brought the release of Lt. Robert Goodman. This was a setback for Blacks in every way, said Lumumba. This act only serves to miseducate Black people as to who is our enemy and who are our allies, he said. "As soon as this brother Goodman gets off the plane, returning back to the U.S., he kisses the ground. Wow! He even told news reporters when he was interviewed that if he was asked to do it again, he would bomb and murder oppressed people, who, like us are fighting for their national liberation and freedom."

The forum ended with a call to join the struggle and join NBIPP.